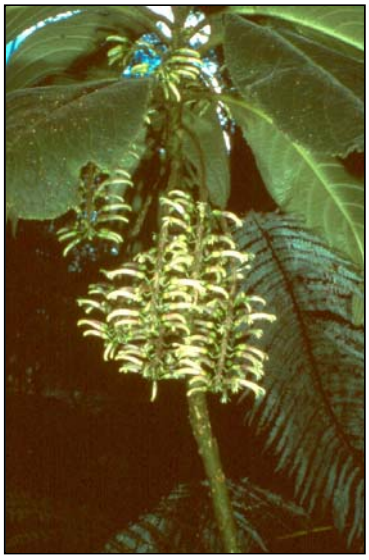
HE MOʻOLELO ʻĀINA:

A CULTURAL STUDY OF THE PUʻU MAKAʻALA NATURAL AREA RESERVE DISTRICTS OF HILO AND PUNA, ISLAND OF HAWAIʻI

View to Puʻu Makaʻala and Mauna Loa (Photo Courtesy of DLNR-NARS)

"Birds eye" View of the Hāpuʻu and Scattered ʻŌhiʻa Forest of Puʻu Makaʻala (Photo Courtesy of DLNR-NARS)



ʻŌhāhā (Cyanea longipedunculata) of Puʻu Makaʻala (William Mull 1975; Photo Courtesy of DLNR-NARS)

Julie Leialoha Describing Puʻu Makaʻala NAR to NARS Commission Members and Educators (Photo Courtesy of DLNR-NARS)

Kumu Pono Associates LLC

Historical & Archival Documentary Research · Oral History Interview Studies ·
Researching and Preparing Studies from Hawaiian Language Documents ·
Māhele ʻĀina, Boundary Commission, & Land History Records ·
Integrated Cultural Resources Management Planning ·
Preservation & Interpretive Program Development

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the request of Ms. Lisa Hadway, Natural Area Specialist for the State of Hawai'i Department of Land and Natural Resources–Division of Forestry and Wildlife (DLNR-DOFAW), *Kumu Pono Associates LLC*, conducted a detailed study of historical and archival literature documenting the natural and cultural landscape and history of land use in the vicinity of the Pu'u Maka'ala Natural Area Reserve, and adjoining lands of Waiākea, in the District of Hilo, and 'Ōla'a, in the District of Puna. The documentation also includes detailed oral testimonies—describing the lands, traditional and customary practices, and historical land use—from native residents of lands in the 'Ōla'a, Waiākea-Humu'ula, and Keauhou vicinity, collected in the 1870s to 1890s. The documentation cited herein is the product of years of research, and includes specific research conducted for the study between October 2003 to April 2004. The research was conducted in private and public collections, and that documentation, cited herein, includes written narratives that cover the period from antiquity to the 1980s.

The archival-historical resources were located in the collections of the Hawai'i State Archives, Land Management Division, Survey Division, Bureau of Conveyances and the Natural Areas Reserve System offices; the Hawaiian Historical Society; the University of Hawai'i-Hilo Mo'okini Library; private family collections; and in the collection of *Kumu Pono Associates LLC*. The documentation includes rich narratives translated from native Hawaiian accounts; descriptions of lands that make up the Puna, Hilo and Eastern Ka'ū mountain lands, recorded in historic surveys; a history of land tenure from 1848 to the present; records documenting the establishment of the 'Ōla'a and Waiākea Forest Reserves, and the subsequent designation of the Pu'u Maka'ala Natural Area Reserve.

The Natural Area Reserve takes it's name from Pu'u Maka'ala, literally, Stay-alert Hill—named by State Forester, Ralph Daelher in the early 1960s[1]—the summit of which is situated a little more than 3,600 feet above sea level. While the name of the *pu'u* is of recent origin, no older name identifiable with the hill was located while conducting this research. Many *pu'u* on the upland slopes of the Hilo and Puna Districts are named, and it is likely that in traditional times this hill too had a name or names, depending on the area it was viewed from.

The native traditions and historical accounts associated with the neighboring lands of the upper Hilo-Puna forests span many centuries, from Hawaiian antiquity to the later period following western contact. The narratives describe customs and practices of the native people who resided on these lands, walked the trails, and who were sustained by the wealth of the forest lands.

Among the most detailed descriptions of the Hilo-Puna forest lands, including documentation of traditional and customary rights, are those found in the Kingdom collections, documenting the history of land tenure, and defining the boundaries of *ahupua'a* of Waiākea and 'Ōla'a. Detailed oral testimonies from elder native tenants were taken in court proceedings of the mid to late 1800s document the occurrence of traditional and customary practices, and nature of the resources within a given *ahupua'a*. In those records, we learn of the traditional knowledge and occurrence of native practices in the lands which today are a part of, and adjoin the Pu'u Maka'ala Natural Area Reserve.

We find in native traditions and beliefs, that Hawaiians shared spiritual and familial relationships with the natural resources around them. Each aspect of nature from the stars in the heavens, to the winds, clouds, rains, growth of the forests and life therein, and everything on the land and in the ocean, was believed to be alive. Indeed, every form of nature was a body-form of some god or lesser deity. As an example, in this context, and in association with lands which are now included in a part of the landscape of the Pu'u Maka'ala Natural Area Reserve, we find that Kū-ka-'ōhi'a-Laka, is a defied guardian of the *'ōhi'a* growth of 'Ōla'a; *Ua-kuahine*, is the body form of a goddess of the rains in 'Ōla'a; and *Kū-lili-ka-ua* is the god of the thick mists that envelop the forests of the upper Puna,

[1] pers comm., Ralph Daelher, former State Forester (June 9, 2004).

Waiākea, and Keauhou lands. Indeed, tradition also tells us that the gods and goddesses of these forest lands were very protective of them. In olden times, travel through them was accompanied by prayer, and care. Traditions tell us that many a careless traveler, or collector of resources, found themselves lost in a maze of overgrowth and dense mists as a result of disrespectful and careless actions.

In the Hawaiian mind, care for each aspect of nature, the *kino lau* (myriad body-forms) of the elder life forms, was a way of life. This concept is still expressed by Hawaiian *kūpuna* (elders) through the present day, and passed on in many native families. Also, in this cultural context, anything which damages the native nature of the land, forests, ocean, and *kino lau* therein, damages the integrity of the whole. Thus caring for, and protecting the land and ocean resources, is a way of life.

In the traditional context above referenced, we find that the forests and mountain landscape—the native species, and the intangible components therein—are a part of a sacred Hawaiian landscape. Thus, the landscape itself is a highly valued cultural property. It's protection, and the continued exercise of traditional and customary practices, in a traditional and customary manner, are mandated by native custom, and State and Federal Laws (as those establishing the Waiākea and ʻŌlaʻa Forest Reserves and Puʻu Makaʻala Natural Area Reserve; and the Endangered Species Act).

In this discussion, protection does not mean the exclusion, or extinguishing of traditional and customary practices, it simply means that such practices are done in a manner consistent with cultural subsistence, where each form of native life is treasured and protected. *Kūpuna* express this thought in the words, *"Hoʻohana aku, a hoʻōla aku!"* (Use it, and let it live!).

In the early 1900s, the Hilo and ʻŌlaʻa forest lands were determined to be of significance, and worthy of protection. In between 1905 to 1928, the lands of the ʻŌlaʻa and Waiākea Forest Reserves, and the neighboring Kīlauea Forest Reserve were dedicated to the public interest as unique natural resources. As a part of on-going ranching operations, and the mission of the newly formed forestry programs, hunting for pigs, and in earlier times, for wild cattle, has been practiced on lands of the Puʻu Makaʻala NAR. Such hunting interests remain of importance to community members and long-term management goals of the Natural Area Reserve System program.

In 1981, the Puʻu Makaʻala Natural Area Reserve, containing approximately 12,106 acres was dedicated as one of the extraordinary ecological systems of the Natural Area Reserve program of the State of Hawaiʻi.

māua nō me ka haʻahaʻa — Kepā a me Onaona Maly

"Aʻohe hana nui, ke alu ʻia!
(It is no great task when done together by all!)

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INTRODUCTION

Background

As part of a state-wide program designed to protect, restore, and further the public benefit of significant Hawaiian natural resources making up three existing Natural Area Reserves, and one proposed reserve, all on the island of Hawai'i, Ms. Lisa Hadway, Natural Area Specialist for the State of Hawai'i Department of Land and Natural Resources–Division of Forestry and Wildlife (DLNR-DOFAW), requested that *Kumu Pono Associates LLC* [2], conduct detailed historical-archival research that would describe the traditional-cultural and historical setting of lands within existing, or proposed Natural Area Reserves on the Island of Hawai'i. This component of the study discusses several *ahupua'a* [3] that contribute to the land area of the Pu'u Maka'ala Natural Area Reserve situated in the forest lands of the Hilo and Puna Districts on the Island of Hawai'i (*Figure 1*).

The Pu'u Maka'ala Natural Area Reserve (NAR) is situated on lands within the upper Waiākea *ahupua'a* of the Hilo District, and the *kalana* (sub-district) of 'Ōla'a within the District of Puna. The Pu'u Maka'ala NAR adjoins the Kīlauea Forest Reserve (in the District of Ka'ū), the Waiākea Forest Reserve (in the District of Hilo), and the 'Ōla'a Forest Reserve (in the District of Puna), which were established by Governor's Proclamations in 1928, 1923, and 1918, respectively. The Pu'u Maka'ala NAR was proposed in the 1970s, and authorized by Governor's Executive Order No. 3102, on November 16th, 1981. The NAR contains 12,106 acres, and takes it's name from a *pu'u* (hill) which in the early 1960s was given the name "*Maka'ala*" (literally: Stay alert, be Vigilant; interpretively Lookout Hill[4]). Unfortunately, it does not appear that a traditional name for this *pu'u* was recorded in historical survey records. While several traditional and historical accounts name localities in the Waiākea-'Ōla'a uplands, they do not give the precise location of those localities, so it is not possible to know if any of those names refer to this particular feature.

In the narratives written to support the proposed establishment of the Pu'u Maka'ala NAR in the1970s, the lands and resources of the area were described with the following narratives:

> The area received its name from Puu Makaala, a cinder cone rising over 200 feet in the center of the proposed 2,612 acre tract on the slopes of Mauna Loa, Hawaii. It presently forms portions of the state-owned Waiakea and Olaa Forest Reserves and can be located on U.S.G.S Map No. N1390, Puu Makaala Quadrangle… It extends across an elevational gradient from 3,200-3,700 feet. It contains no streams. The heavy forest covering is believed to have never been disturbed by logging, grazing or other uses. The soil is very organic, with black muck that extends to a depth of several feet or more until lava rock is reached. There has been some disturbance by feral pigs…
>
> Most of the area is an *'ōhi'a* rainforest ecosystem. There is a rich assortment of native plants (some 48 species) and associated native insects, from flies and butterflies to crawling forms. It is also a habitat for at least nine native birds, of which three are endangered species. Another ecosystem present, but located only in the far southwest section, is the *koa-'ōhi'a* rain forest. The Kulani Project addition contains a significant amount of this type of ecosystem.

---

[2] *Kumu Pono Associates LLC*: Kepā Maly, Cultural Historian-Resource Specialist and Onaona Maly, Researcher.

[3] *Ahupua'a* is a traditional term used to describe an ancient Hawaiian land unit (extending from sea to mountain lands), and remains the primary land unit of the modern land classification system.

[4] See notes regarding naming of Pu'u Maka'ala in ca. 1962, from telephone interview with retired Forester, Ralph Daehler, at end of study.

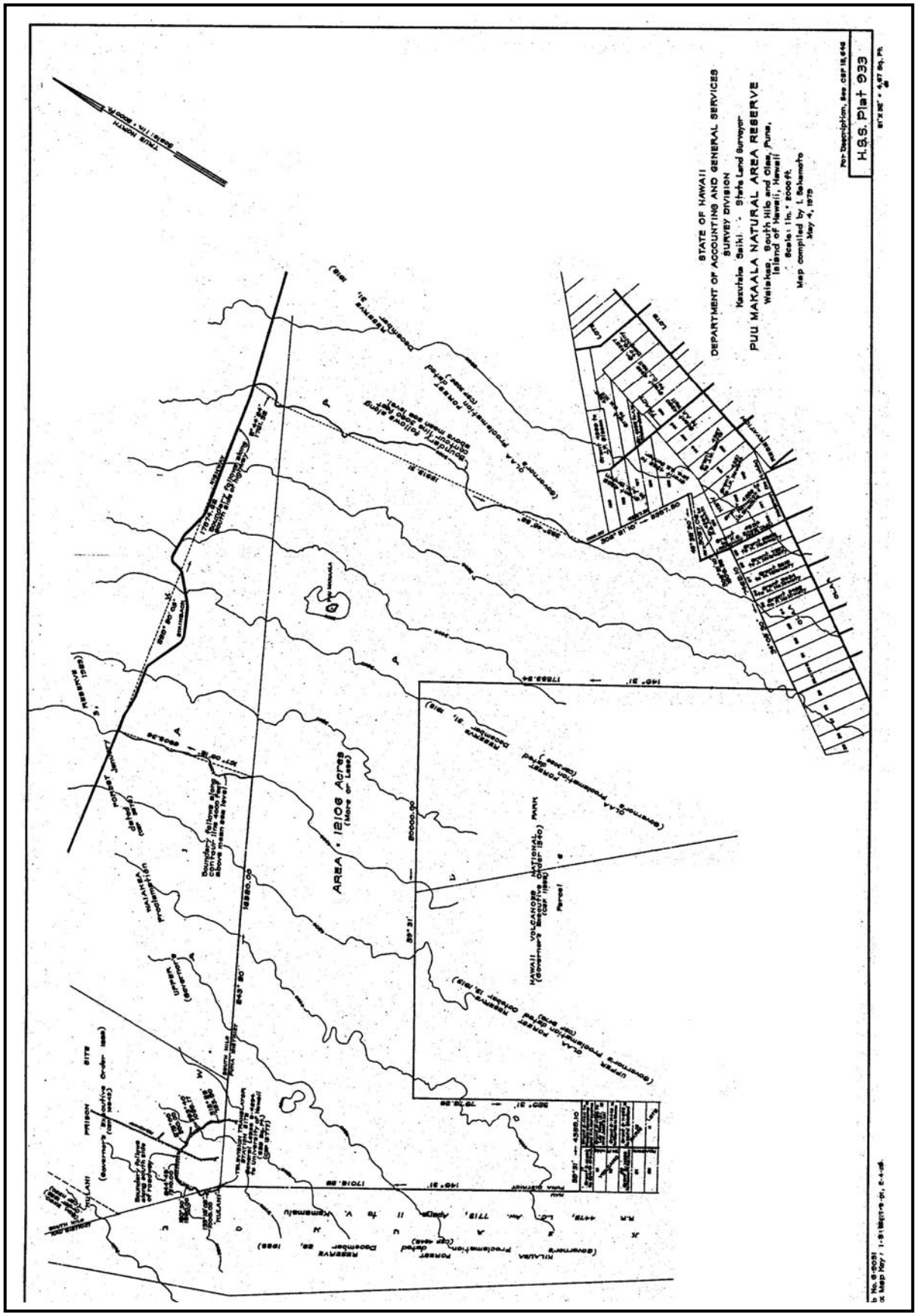

Figure 1. Pu‘u Maka‘ala Natural Area Reserve, and Neighboring Lands of Waiākea, ‘Ōla‘a, and Keauhou, Island of Hawai‘i (1979)

> Indicative of the dense and mature forest cover, the substrate consists of deep soils of "brown forest" and "humic" latosols. There is an average annual rainfall of 100-150 inches. The mature forest growth is a contrasting ecosystem to the developing forest condition preserved by the 640 acre Waiakea 1942 Lava Flow Natural Area Reserve about two miles away… [Pu'u Maka'ala NAR Folder, Natural Area Reserves Office]

This study seeks to provide readers with access to primary documentation on native traditions, customs, and practices associated with the Waiākea-'Ōla'a forest lands; and to provide readers with a historical overview of the land and activities of people in the region from the early 1900s through the present-day. Such information will be helpful in planning phases and discussions of the Hilo-Puna community and agencies, as efforts to protect the unique natural and cultural landscape of the forest lands are undertaken. While a great deal of information has been compiled, and is presented in the following sections of this study, we acknowledge that additional information will likely be found through further research. The goal here, is to bring a significant collection of documentation into one study that will help all interested parties plan actions to ensure the well-being of the land for present and future generations.

Historical and Archival Research

The historical and archival research conducted for this study were performed in a manner consistent with Federal and State laws and guidelines for such studies. Among the pertinent laws and guidelines are the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, as amended in 1992 (36 CFR Part 800); the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's "*Guidelines for Consideration of Traditional Cultural Values in Historic Preservation Review*" (ACHP 1985); National Register Bulletin 38, "*Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties*" (Parker and King 1990); the Hawai'i State Historic Preservation Statue (Chapter 6E), which affords protection to historic sites, including traditional cultural properties of on-going cultural significance; the criteria, standards, and guidelines of the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD) for the evaluation and documentation of cultural sites and practices, Title 13 Sub-Title 13:275-284 (October 21, 2002); and the November 1997 guidelines for cultural impact assessment studies, adopted by the Office of Environmental Quality Control (which also facilitate the standardized approach to compliance with Act 50 amending HRS Chapter 343; April 26, 2000).

While conducting the research, primary references included, but were not limited to—land use records, including an extensive review of Hawaiian Land Commission Award (L.C.A.) records from the *Māhele 'Āina* (Land Division) of 1848; Boundary Commission Testimonies and Survey records of the Kingdom and Territory of Hawai'i; and historical texts authored or compiled by—D. Malo (1951); J.P. I'i (1959); S. M. Kamakau (1961, 1964, 1976, and 1991); Wm. Ellis (1963); J. Goodrich (1826); Chas. Wilkes (1845); and A. Fornander (1916-1919 and 1996). The study also includes several native accounts from Hawaiian language newspapers (compiled and translated from Hawaiian to English, by the author), and historical records authored by nineteenth century visitors to the region.

Archival-historical resources were located in the collections of the Hawai'i State Archives, Land Management Division, Survey Division, Natural Area Reserves office, and Bureau of Conveyances; the Bishop Museum Archives; Hawaiian Historical Society; University of Hawai'i-Hilo Mo'okini Library; private family collections; and in the collection of *Kumu Pono Associates LLC*. This information is generally cited in categories by chronological order of the period depicted in the narratives.

The historical record—including oral testimonies of elder native residents of lands in the Waiākea-'Ōla'a vicinity—provide readers with detailed descriptions of traditional and customary practices, the nature of land use, and the types of features to be expected on the landscape. The descriptions of land use and subsistence practices range from antiquity to the middle 1900s, and represent the knowledge of *kama'āina* (natives) of the land.

A CULTURAL-HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE LANDS AND FORESTS OF THE HILO AND PUNA DISTRICTS

Hawaiian Settlement

Archaeologists and historians describe the inhabiting of these islands in the context of settlement which resulted from voyages taken across the vast open ocean, with people coming from small island groups. For many years archaeologists have proposed that early Polynesian settlement voyages between Kahiki (the ancestral homelands of the Hawaiian gods and people) and Hawai'i were underway by A.D. 300, with long distance voyages occurring fairly regularly through at least the thirteenth century. It has been generally reported that the sources of the early Hawaiian population—the Hawaiian "Kahiki"—were the Marquesas and Society Islands (Emory in Tatar 1982:16-18).

For generations following initial settlement, it appears that communities were clustered along the watered, windward (*ko'olau*) shores of the main Hawaiian Islands. Along the *ko'olau* shores, in areas such as Waiākea, Punahoa-Pi'ihonua, and Laupāhoehoe, streams flowed, rainfall was reliable, and agricultural production could become established. To a lesser extent, locations in Puna, such as in the Kea'au and Hā'ena vicinity, and in the Kapoho vicinity, early populations could also find the necessary resources for establishing community centers. Along these *ko'olau* shores, sheltered bays offered access to both deep sea and near shore fisheries. The latter, being enriched by nutrients carried in the fresh water flowing from the mountain streams, and in underground lava tube systems, and by which fishponds and estuarine systems could be developed. In these early times, the residents generally engaged in subsistence practices in the form of fishing, and in agriculture on lands extending towards the uplands from the bays (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1972:287).

Over a period of several centuries, areas with the richest natural resources became populated and perhaps crowded, and by ca. 900 to 1100 AD, the population began expanding to the more remote sections of Puna and the larger Kona (leeward) side of the island (Cordy 2000:130).

As a general summary of lowland residency and cultivation of food resources in the Waiākea section of Hilo, Handy, Handy and Pukui (1972) reported that:

> Hilo as a major land division of Hawaii included the southeastern part of the windward coast...the northern portion, had many scattered settlements above streams running between high, forested *kula* lands, now planted with sugar cane. From Hilo Bay southeastward to Puna the shore and inland are rather barren and there were few settlements. The population of Hilo was anciently as now concentrated mostly around and out from Hilo Bay... The Hilo Bay region is one of lush tropical verdure and beauty, owing to the prevalence of nightly showers and moist warmth which prevail under the northeasterly trade winds into which it faces…
>
> In lava-strewn South Hilo there were no streams whose valleys or banks were capable of being developed in terraces, but cuttings were stuck into the ground and on the shores and islets for many miles along the course of the Wailuku River far up into the forest zone. In the marshes surrounding Waiakea Bay, east of Hilo, taro was planted in a unique way, known as *kanu kipi*. Long mounds were built on the marshy bottom with their surface two or three feet above water level. Upon the top and along the sides of these mounds taro was planted. Flood waters which occasionally submerged the entire mound are said to have done no harm, as the flow was imperceptible. This swampy land is now abandoned to rank grass. *Kipi* (mounds) were also formerly made along Alenaio Stream above Hilo… [Handy, Handy and Pukui 1972:538-539]

Natural Resources and Land Management in the Hawaiian Cultural System

In Hawaiian culture, natural and cultural resources are one and the same. Native traditions describe the formation (literally the birth) of the Hawaiian Islands and the presence of life on, and around them, in the context of genealogical accounts. All forms of the natural environment, from the skies and mountain peaks, to the watered valleys and lava plains, and to the shore line and ocean depths are believed to be embodiments of Hawaiian gods and deities. One Hawaiian genealogical account, records that Wākea (the expanse of the sky–father) and Papa-hānau-moku (Papa, who gave birth to the islands)—also called Haumea-nui-hānau-wāwā (Great Haumea, born time and time again)—and various gods and creative forces of nature, gave birth to the islands. Hawai'i, the largest of the islands, was the first-born of these island children. As the Hawaiian genealogical account continues, we find that these same god-beings, or creative forces of nature who gave birth to the islands, were also the parents of the first man (Hāloa), and from this ancestor all Hawaiian people are descended (David Malo, 1951; Beckwith, 1970; Pukui and Korn, 1973). It was in this context of kinship, that the ancient Hawaiians addressed their environment, and it is the basis of the Hawaiian system of land use.

Through their generations of residency, the ancient Hawaiians developed a sophisticated system of land- and resource-management. By the time 'Umi-a-Līloa rose to rule the island of Hawai'i in ca. 1525, the island (*moku-puni*) was divided into six districts or *moku-o-loko* (cf. Fornander 1973–Vol. II:100-102). The district of Hilo is one of six major *moku-o-loko* on the island of Hawai'i. The district of Hilo itself, extends from the shore up to the 9,000 foot level on Mauna Kea, and up to the summit of Mauna Loa, where it joins the districts of Ka'ū, Kona and Hāmākua. Towards the east, Hilo joins Puna at Māwae, and continues *ma uka* (towards the mountains), adjoining the land of 'Ōla'a; and on it's north eastern boundary, Hilo joins Hāmākua at Ka'ula. Within this district, today simply described as North and South Hilo, there were at least three traditional regions. The area from Waiākea to the Puna boundary was known as *Hilo Hanakāhi*—Hilo, land of Hanakāhi, one of the noted chiefs of Hilo, whose reign was one of peace. The middle section of Hilo, fronted by the sandy beach of Waiākea Bay, extending from Kanukuokamanu (at the mouth of Wailoa Stream) to Wailuku River was simply known as *Hilo One*—Hilo of the sandy shore. The remainder of Hilo, extending from the cliffs on Wailuku River to Ka'ula was called *Hilo Palikū*—Hilo of the upright cliffs.

The entire district of Hilo has been most famed for its rains, and is commemorated in many traditional *mele* (chants) and *'ōlelo no'eau* (poetical sayings) by reference to the rains. This may seem to some to be an undesirable epitaph, but in the Hawaiian mind, the rains were god given—manifestations of the gods Kāne and Lono, and also forms of lesser gods and goddess of the forests and expanse of the land. Rains gave life to, and healed the land, thus a land of water was a rich one.

Native tradition records that lands with "*wai*" (water) names were themselves associated with the god Lono (G.W. Kahiolo in *Ka Hae Hawaii*, July 10, 1861), thus another level of cultural significance might be associated with the land of Waiākea (Expansive-waters, or the Water of Ākea, progenitor of the Hawaiian race). We also find that one of the famous sayings of Hilo describes the beauty of the rains—source of the waters given by Lono—that seem to resonate from the leaves of the *'ōhi'a lehua* (*Metrosideros polymorpha*) trees which at one time grew luxuriantly from shore to mountains—

> *No ka pehi mau o ka ua iluna o ka lihilihi o ka lehua i ka wā a nā manu e kani hone ana a mūkīkī i ka wai e kilihune iho la i ka liko o ka lehua... o ka ua kani lehua o Hilo ia!* — Because the frequent pattering of rains upon the *lehua* blossoms is accompanied by the sweet singing of the birds as they sip the nectar which drips upon the young budding *lehua* leaves... the rain of Hilo is called the rain which resounds upon the *lehua* blossoms of Hilo! [Wise and Kihe in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*; February 24, 1916 (Maly, translator)]

The land of ʻŌlaʻa stood alone, almost independent of other lands adjoining it in Puna, though it had no ocean frontage—being cut off by Keaʻau and Waiākea. The name connotes sacredness and sanctity; the root of the name being "*laʻa*." ʻŌlaʻa is famed in native tradition for it's sacred lands, forest, native birds, and *olonā* resources. One ancient *mele* (chant), commemorating the forests, birds, and weather of ʻŌlaʻa, noting too that man traveled across the land tells us:

Ka uka holo kia ahi manu ʻŌlaʻa	The birds fly like flaming darts to the uplands of ʻŌlaʻa,
I pō e noe ka uahi noe i ka nahele,	Where the mist and smoke darken the forest,
Nōhenohea ka makani ʻūhau pua,	Spread out by the breeze which lays out the blossoms,
He pua ʻoni ke kanaka, he mea laha ʻole…	Man is like flower, roving about, something that is irreplaceable… [collection of Hoʻohila Kawelo; Maly, curator]

In the traditional system of land management, the large districts (*moku-o-loko*) like Hilo and Puna, and sub-regions (*ʻokana* and *kalana*) such as ʻŌlaʻa, were further divided into political regions and manageable units of land. These smaller divisions or units of land were tended to by the *makaʻāinana* (people of the land) (see Malo 1951:63-67). Of all the land divisions, perhaps the most significant management unit throughout the islands was the *ahupuaʻa*.

Ahupuaʻa are subdivisions of land that were usually marked by altars with images or representations of a pig placed upon them, thus the name *ahu-puaʻa* or pig altar. In their configuration, the *ahupuaʻa* may be compared to wedge-shaped pieces of land that generally radiate out from the center of the island, extending to the ocean fisheries fronting the land units. Their boundaries are generally defined by topography and geological features such as *puʻu* (hills), ridges, gullies, valleys, craters, or areas of a particular vegetation growth (see Boundary Commission testimonies in this study; and Lyons, 1875).

The *ahupuaʻa* were also divided into smaller manageable parcels of land—such as the *ʻili*, *kōʻele*, *mahina ʻai*, *māla*, and *kīhāpai*—that generally run in a *mauka-makai* orientation, and are often marked by stone wall (boundary) alignments. In these smaller land parcels the *makaʻāinana* cultivated crops necessary to sustain their families, and supplied the needs of the chiefly communities they were associated with. As long as sufficient tribute was offered and *kapu* (restrictions) were observed, the common people who lived in a given *ahupuaʻa* had access to most of the resources from mountain slopes to the ocean. These access rights were almost uniformly tied to residency on a particular land, and earned as a result of taking responsibility for stewardship of the natural environment and supplying the needs of ones' *aliʻi* (see Malo 1951:63-67 and Kamakau 1961:372-377).

Entire *ahupuaʻa*, or portions of the land were generally under the jurisdiction of appointed *konohiki* or subordinate chief-landlords, who answered to an *aliʻi-ʻai-ahupuaʻa* (chief who controlled the *ahupuaʻa* resources). The *aliʻi-ʻai-ahupuaʻa* in turn answered to an *aliʻi ʻai moku* (chief who claimed the abundance of the entire district). Thus, *ahupuaʻa* resources supported not only the *makaʻāinana* and *ʻohana* (families) who lived on the land, but also contributed to the support of the royal community of regional and/or island kingdoms. This form of district subdividing was integral to Hawaiian life and was the product of strictly adhered to resource management planning. In this system, the land provided fruits, vegetables and some meat in the diet, and the ocean provided a wealth of protein resources.

We find that the system described above, is documented in native testimonies recorded as a part of court proceedings in the 1870s, by elder Hawaiian residents of Waiākea, ʻŌlaʻa and neighboring

lands. The witnesses to the Commissioner of Boundaries reported that traditional access and use of resources in the mountain lands was controlled and monitored by landlords and chiefs. Knowledge of the boundaries of *ahupua‘a*, and the extent of rights on the mountain lands was important. If someone from another land (*ahupua‘a* or district) was caught taking resources from a land other than their own, the items were taken from them. Indeed, the large collection of testimonies for the island of Hawai‘i record that infractions of *ahupua‘a* rights led to fights and death of the intruders. Interestingly, collection of native birds such as the *mamo* and *‘ō‘ō*, and the collection of *olonā* in the Waiākea and ‘Ōla‘a forest lands (presumably those which also fall within the present-day Natural Area Reserve) was recorded by elder *kama‘āina*, though no reference to other forms of hunting, or pigs was made in the testimonies by natives in the 1800s (see Boundary Commission Testimonies in this study).

MOʻOLELO ʻĀINA: NATIVE TRADITIONS AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE WAIĀKEA-ʻŌLAʻA FOREST LANDS

This section of the study provides readers with access to a collection of native traditions of the Hilo-Puna forest lands, some of the accounts translated from the original Hawaiian language narratives by Maly. The narratives span many centuries, from Hawaiian antiquity to the later period following western contact. Some of the narratives make specific references to places on the mountain lands associated with the Puʻu Makaʻala NAR, while other accounts are part of larger traditions that are associated with regional and island-wide events. The traditions describe customs and practices of the native people who resided on these lands, walked the trails, and who were sustained by the wealth of the mountain lands, the *kula* (plains and plateau lands), and the adjacent marine fisheries. It is also appropriate to note here, that the occurrence of these traditions—many in association with place names of land divisions, cultural sites, features of the landscape, and events in the history of the lands which make up the Puʻu Makaʻala NAR—are an indicator of the rich native history of those lands.

"He Kaao no Pikoiakaalala, ke Keiki Akamai i ka Pana" (The Tradition of Pikoiakaʻalalā–Describing Canoe Making and Bird Hunting in the Uplands of Waiākea and ʻŌlaʻa)

The tradition of Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā (Pikoi-son-of-the-crow), printed in the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ku Okoa*, in 1865-1866, is one of the earliest written accounts, that provides detailed narratives of the traditional and customary practices associated with the upland forests of Waiākea and ʻŌlaʻa. The tradition was submitted to the paper by S.M. Kaui, and ran from December 16th, 1865 to March 10th, 1866.

Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā was born to ʻAlalā and Koukou on the island of Kauaʻi, and his family were *kūpua* (beings with supernatural powers and multiple body-forms). Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā possessed exceptional sight and excelled in the Hawaiian art of *pana pua* (shooting with bow and arrow). Through the tradition of Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā, readers learn that many localities throughout the islands are named for places where he competed in matches with archers, shooting *ʻiole* (rats) and birds from great distances. The tradition is set in the late 1500s when Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi, the king of Hawaiʻi Island, was in need of an expert to shoot some supernatural *ʻelepaio* birds that continually interrupted the work of his canoe makers in the uplands of ʻŌlaʻa and Hilo.

Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi learned of Mainele, a champion in the sport of *pana pua*, who resided on Oʻahu, and promised him that if he could rid the forest of the enemy *ʻelepaio*, he could wed his daughter, the beautiful Keakalaulani. As the story unfolds below, we learn that Mainele boasted of his great skills, but he was unable to kill the two birds. In the meantime, Waiākea (for whom the land of Waiākea was named), one of the stewards of Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi, befriended Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā, and learned that he was an expert in the art of *pana pua*.

Prior to his arrival in Hilo, Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā made Waiākea promise that he would not tell anyone who he was, for he had heard of the boastful nature of Mainele, and he wished to teach him a lesson. The narratives below (translated by Maly), focus on events in the uplands of Waiākea and ʻŌlaʻa. By the description of the events in this part of the tradition, we learn about the make up of the upland forests, named localities, and some of the practices of ancient Hawaiians in the region coinciding with the Puʻu Makaʻala NAR.

Arriving in the Hilo District Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā asked Waiākea:

HELU 5.
"…Aia i hea kahi o ua mau manu hanaino waa nei?" "Aia no ma waho aku o Panaewa," "e pii hoi ha kaua i ike au," wahi a Pikoiakaalala.

Part 5.
"…Where are those birds who make trouble for the canoes found?" "They are there, outside of Panaʻewa." Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā then said, "Let us go up there so that I may see."

O ka hele aku la no ia o laua a hiki, a ike aku la o Pikoiakaalala i kahi i kau ai na manu hanaino waa, a me ke kahua kahi hoi e kalai ai na kahuna a Keawenuiaumi, o ka inoa o ia wahi, o Kalehuapueo, aia no kela wahi ma kai ae o Kaluaopele, mauka ae o Olaa, iwaena konu o ka ululaau, he ahua nae, ina e hiki ilaila, e hiki ia oe ke nana mai ia kai o Hilo, me kou ike maopopo no nae ia kai, he loihi no nae, ua ane hiki paha i ka 27 mile ka loa; a hoi aku la no laua i kai o Hilo, e like no me ka mea mau i ke kaumaha i ka manu i na la a pau a laua e hele ai; a he mea mau no hoi ia laua ka lawe pinepine aku i manu na ke alii Keawenuiaumi, a o ka ke alii mea hoohuoi mau no hoi ia, no ka nui launa ole o ka manu, a he mea mau no hoi ia Keawenuiaumi ka ninaninau mau ia Waiakea kona kahu, i ka mea nana i hoomake ina manu he nui, ike kela ano manu i keia ano manu.

The two traveled till they reached the place, and Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā saw where the birds who made trouble for the canoes were perched. He also saw the grounds where the canoe making priest of Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi worked. The name of this place was Kalehuapueo, it is there below Kaluaopele (the Volcano), in the uplands of ʻŌlaʻa, in the middle of the forest. There is a small hill there, and if you go there, you will be able to look to the sea of Hilo. By the sight of the sea, you will know that it is a great distance off, perhaps 27 miles away. The two then returned to Hilo, and as was the custom, they were weighted down by birds on all the days they went to the mountains. They frequently went and took birds for the chief Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi, who grew suspicious because so many birds were brought down. Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi regularly asked Waiākea, who was killing these birds, for many different kinds were brought down.

Eia na inoa pakahi o na manu a Pikoiakaalala i pana ai i mea ai no ka wa maka pehu o Hilo. O ka Oo, ka Iiwi, ka Ou, ka Akakane, ka Amakihi, a me ka Mamo, o na manu ai-lehua no a pau o ka uka i Olaa a me ka nahele laau loloa o Panaewa; oia mau manu ka ke keiki Pikoiakaalala i panai, a o ka Waiakea hoi ia e haawi aku ai i ke alii nui me na lii malalo iho, na kaukaualii, na puali, me na koa a me na kanaka hoi o ke alii.

Here are the names of the birds which Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā shot during his time in Hilo; the *ʻŌʻō, ʻIʻiwi, ʻŌʻū, ʻAkakane, ʻAmakihi*, and the *Mamo*, the birds which eat of the *lehua* blossoms in the uplands of ʻŌlaʻa, and the long-treed forest of Panaʻewa. Those were the birds shot by Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā, and given by Waiākea to the king, the chiefs below him, the attendant chiefs, the warriors and the men of the chief.

A no ka ninau mau o Keawenuiaumi i ka mea nana i pana kela mau manu—i hoike iae la maluna—alaila, hai aku la o Waiakea penei: "He wahi aikane no nau." "No hea?" wahi a ke alii, "no Oahu mai no," alaila ninau mai la o Keawenuiaumi, "O wai ka inoa oia aikane au?" "O wai la, aole i hai mai i kona inoa iau," wahi a Waiakea, he oiaio no hoi paha ia, no ka mea hoi, aole no i ike na mea a pau o Pikoiakaalala keia, aole no hoi i hai i kona inoa ia Waiakea; aka nae, o na hana akamai a pau a Pikoiakaalala kana i ike ai, mai ko laua holo ana mai o Oahu aku a hiki i keia wahi i olelo iae nei, a ua hoopaa loa o Waiakea i kana mea i ike ai, no ke akamai lua ole o ua aikane nei ana, (Pikoiakaalala) oia hoi na pana ana i na iole mai Oahu mai a hiki ma Kohala i Hawaii.

Because Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi continually asked questions about the one who shot the birds—as described above—Waiākea answered thus: It is a friend of mine." "Where from?" Asked the chief. "From Oʻahu." Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi then asked, "What is the name of your friend?" "What indeed? He has not told me his name," responded Waiākea. Now this is perhaps true, because very few people knew of Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā, and he had not actually told his name to Waiākea. But because of all the amazing things that Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā had done—that is the shooting of rats from Oʻahu to Kohala, Hawaiʻi, Waiākea knew that his friend (Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā) was second to none in the skill.

(E waiho iki iho kakou i ka hoonioniolo ana no Pikoiakaalala ke keiki o Kauai o Manokalanipo, a me Waiakea hoi kahi kanaka o Kauakanilehua o Hilo Hanakahi, a e kuehu ae kakou i ka lehu o kapuahi no Mainele a me na hoe waa.)

(Let us now leave the upright nature of Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā, the youth of Kauai of Manokalanipō, and Waiākea, the man of the land of Hilo Hanakāhi, where the rains resonate on the leaves of the *lehua*; and let us stir up the ashes of the fireplace of Mainele and the canoe paddlers.)

Ia Mainele ma i noho ai iuka o Kohala i ke kalai hoe, a hala hookahi malama, a loaa ka hoe, alaila, makaukau na waa e holo aku i Hilo, kahi hoi o ke alii nana i hoouna aku e kii ia Mainele. A hiki o Mainele ma i Hilo, ua makaukau mua hoi ka ai, ka puaa, me na mea no hoi a pau e lawa ai ka malihini; a o ke o no hoi ia i pii ai e pana i ko Keawenuiaumi enemi mau.

While Mainele and folks were residing in the uplands of Kohala, cutting wood for paddles, there passed one cycle of the moon, and they then had the paddles made. Therefore the canoes were made ready to travel to Hilo, the place from which the king had sent for Mainele and his companions. The food was made ready, the pig and all the things to be brought for the visitor; and those things necessary for the journey to the uplands to shoot the enemies of Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi.

O ka hoomaka iho la no ia o ka pii o Mainele me ke alii, a me na kanaka a pau he nui, a o ka poe makaikai no hoi o kela wahi keia wahi o Hilo a me Puna. A hiki no hoi o Mainele i ke kahua kahi kalai-waa, a ike iho la nae i ke kumu koa kahi e kau mau ai ua mau manu nei, aole nae he ikeiaku o na enemi o ke alii, no ka mea hoi, aia no a koele ke koi i ka waa, alaila, o ka manawa iho la no ia e lele mai ai o ua mau manu nei a kau i ke kumu o kekahi koa nui. Hookoele no hoi na kahuna a ke alii i kekahi kaele waa kahiko no a lakou mamua i haalele ai, i mea hoi e lohe ai ua mau manu la, alaila lele mai, oiai o ka laua hana mau ia ke lohe i kekahi koi e koele ana.

Mainele and the King, and many of the people, those who had traveled from one place or another in Hilo and Puna, began their journey to the uplands. When Mainele arrived at the canoe making grounds, he saw the *koa* trees where birds had perched, though the (bird) enemies of the king were not to be seen. But when the striking of the adzes was heard on the hulls of the canoes, the birds flew and perched atop a large *koa* tree. When the priest of the king, began to dig out one of the old canoe hulls, left by from an earlier time when they had fled; it was then, when the birds heard the chipping, that they began to fly about.

O ka manawa no ia e hiki ai, me ko laua manao paha he kalai-waa, no ka mea, o ko laua enemi nui hoi ia o ke kalaiwaa. A he oi no hoi o na manu pololei nui wale i ke koho e mai no mamua i na olelo hooiloilo, e olelo mai ai penei: "E Keawenuiaumi e! haalele ia he waa ino, he waa puha, ua loli kaele." Aole no hoi ma ko Keawenuiaumi waa wale no ka laua hana e hooiloilo ai, o ka waa o kela kanaka keia kanaka ka laua e hanai.

That was what they did, when they heard the digging, because their great enemy were the canoe makers. Now normally, these types of birds were foremost in stating whether worms were in the wood, but here, they called out always: "Say Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi! Leave it behind, it is a bad canoe, a canoe that will shatter, a rotted hull." It was not only the canoes of Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi, but the canoes of other men as well, that the two birds did this to.

O ka lele mai la no ia o ua mau manu la a kau mai la iluna, ma ko laua wahi mau e kau ai. I ua mau manu la no a kau mai, ike aku la no hoi o Mainele, ke akamai kaulana; o kona manawa iho la no ia i haalele koke ae ai i kana mea make, me ka olelo kaena e anae mamua o kona hookuu ana i kana pua, penei no hoi: "Heaha la ke kumu o ke ku ole ana o keia mau manu i ka poe i hele mai ai e pana i keia mau manu, ma ke kua paha

These birds flew and perched at their usual place above. When the birds perched there, Mainele saw them, he then began boasting about his fame and skill with the bow, and that he could kill them for which he released his arrow: "There is no tree that these birds can land on that the people cannot shoot them. They will be shot in the back perhaps, for their bodies are large, and they land nearby…"

ka pana ana i ku ole ai? No ka mea, he nui na kino, a he kokoke loa no hoi laua e kau mai nei…"

A lohe ae la ke alii, a me ka aha kanaka e ku pu ana me ia, (Mainele) oliloli nui ae la lakou. O ke kuu aku la no ia o Mainele i kana pua, me kona manao hoi e ku aku na manu ia ia, he ole ka hoi ua mea he ku aku, mai ku no nae, o ka pololi ana o ka pua a ku no i ka mino kahiko o na manu, oia no ka mea i halai, o ka hoomau aku la no ia o Mainele i kana hana i kaulana ai o ka pana, oi pana wale a la aohe wahi mea ku aku o na manu, a po ia la, moe iho la no o Keawenuiaumi me Mainele, a me na kanaka a pau ilaila.

Hearing this, the king and the people gathered there with him (Mainele), and were exceedingly happy. Then Mainele released his arrow, thinking that he would strike the birds, but he did not hit them. He tried again and again, his arrows hungered for the birds, but all the shots of this famous person, missed. When darkness fell, Keawe-nui-a-'Umi, Mainele, and all the people with them went to sleep.

A i ke ao anae no, oia ka lua o ka la, i lawa no i ka maamaa anae, o ko Mainele manawa iho la no ia e panai, me ke ake nui e ku na enemi mau o ke alii, aole no hoi he komo wahi ai iki i kona opu, a no ke ku ole o na manu, olelo ae la ia i ke alii e hana i laau alanui nona e pii aku ai iluna o ke kumu koa, i kokoke i kahi o ua mau manu nei e kau ana, me kona manao a kokoke iki ae, alaila, ku ke panae. A paa ke alanui, pii ae la o Mainele alaila, pana ae la no ia i na manu, oi pana wale no ia la a ahiahi, aohe no he mea a ku iki, a moe hou no ilaila.

With the light of day—this was the second day—Mainele practiced and when it was enough, he began again to shoot, with great desire for these enemies of the king. Because the birds did not land nearby, he told the king to have a wooden ladder made so that he could climb atop one of the *koa* trees, close to where the birds regularly perched. He thought that if he could get closer, he would be able to shoot them. The ladder was made secure, and Mainele climbed upon it. But again, his arrows missed, and with the coming of night, the people again slept there.

A ao ae la, o ke kolu ia o ka la, alua no hoi alapii, i mea hoi e kokoke ae ai o ka pana no hoi ka Mainele, o ka nana no hoi ka ke alii, a me na kanaka iluna, me ke ake nui e ku aku ana no ia Mainele na manu, hele no hoi a uakaha ka a-i o ke alii, a nalulu ka lae, me na kanaka a pau i ka ua mea o ke kali ana no ke ku o na manu i ke akamai kaulana o Mainele a po wale no ke kolu o ka la, aohe no he ku o na manu.

At day light, the third day, a second ladder was made so as to enable Mainele to shoot from a closer location. The king and all of the people looked on and saw the great desire of Mainele to get the birds. Looking up, the neck of the king was stiff, and his brow ached, it was so with all of the people who were awaiting the striking of the birds through the ingenuity of Mainele. But as the third night approached, the birds had not been struck.

Moe no a ao ae, o ka ha ia o ka la, a akolu hoi alapii o ka hana ana, e like no me ka Mainele e olelo ai, pela no ke alii e olelo ai i kona poe kanaka e hana, a ane kokoke loa o Mainele ma kahi a na manu e kau ai, o kana no ka pana, oi pana wale no a aohe no he ku o ua mau manu la, he akamai no hoi o Mainele i ka pana, he akamai no hoi na manu i ka alo ana i ka Mainele mea make e lele aku ana he pua.

They slept again, and arose at daylight, and had a third ladder made. Thus Mainele drew near to the place where the birds perched. He shot his best arrow, and it did not strike the birds. While Mainele was smart with the bow, the birds too were smart at dodging the deadly arrows of Mainele.

A po iho la ka ha o ka la, moe no ke alii, me na kanaka a pau, a ao ae la, o ka lima ia o ka la, aha no hoi alapii o ka hana ana, a ia hana ana o

The fourth night settled in, and the king and all his people slept. At daylight on the fifth day, a fourth ladder was built, and Mainele was even

ke alapii, ua kokoke loa i kahi a na enemi e kau mau ai, a e lalau ae no o Mainele i na manu me kona mau lima, e loaa no, aole no hoi i ike na manu i ke kokoke loa o ke alapii, kahi hoi a Mainele e noho ana, a haalele la hoi i ko laua wahi e kau mua ai, i loa no i ka po a ao ae no, o ka na kahuna hana mau no hoi ka hookoele me ke koi i na kaele-waa e waiho ana… Oiai ua hiki ae o Mainele iluna o kahi i hana ia nona, i na manu no a kau mai, o ko Mainele lalau ae la no ia me kona mau lima, alo ae la no na manu, oi lalau wale o Mainele me kona mau lima huluhulu a aole he loaa iki o na manu. Hele no hoi a uluhua o Mainele i na manu, me he hoa hakaka kanaka la. A o ke alii hoi o Keawenuiaumi, ua hele a uiha, a luhi, a uakaha ka a-i, a me kona poe kanaka pu kekahi, oi noke wale o Mainele i ka lalau lima a aohe he loaa iki o na manu, a po wale ka lima o ka la, moe no ilaila a ao ae o ke ono ia o ka la, ike ae la o Mainele ua ao, hoomaka ae la ia e pii iluna o kahi ana e hopu ai i na manu, alaila pane mai la o Keawenuiaumi, "Aole au i upu i kau kaikamahine maikai a na ke kanaka akamai i ka hopu lima i kuu mau enemi, i upu au i kau mea maikai a na ke kanaka akamai i ka pana, e like hoi me oe e Mainele, wahi a ka poe i ike ia oe; a no kou lohe ana hoi ia oe he akamai lua ole i ka pana, hoouna aku ai au i kou mau hoe waa ponoi, me kou mau waa kapu, nou wale iho no, aole no hai; a ka inoa he akamai io oe, aole ka, hoi iho ilalo."

closer to the place where his enemy perched. Mainele then grasped for the birds with his hands, trying to catch them, but he could not , as the birds wouldn't come near the ladder, where Mainele was sitting. They left where they had originally perched through the days and nights that they had bothered the priest and the canoe carvers… Mainele was situated atop the place made for him, and the birds landed. Mainele then reached out to try and grab the birds, but he could in no way grab them. Mainele went after the birds, fighting as if they were a human enemy. The king, Keawe-nui-a-'Umi became wearied, and the necks of all gathered there became stiff and sore. Again, Mainele was unable to secure the birds, and the fifth night fell. They all slept and at daylight the sixth day, Mainele again climbed the ladder and tried to grab the birds. Keawe-nui-a-'Umi called out to him, "I did not think that I was going to give my pleasing daughter to a man who was smart at grabbing my enemies with his hands. I thought that my daughter was going to go to a man who was skilled with the bow, like I thought you were, Mainele. Everyone who told me of you said that you were second to none in your skill with the bow, thus I sent my paddlers and sacred canoes, reserved only for me, after you. But now I see that it is not so. Return down here."

O ka hoi iho la no ia o Mainele me ka hilahila nui. [Ianuari 13, 1866]

Thus, Mainele returned down with great shame. [January 13, 1866]

HELU 6.

E ka poe e heluhelu ana, ua ike ae la hoi kakou i ko Mainele akamai ole, a me kana mau olelo kaena e ana mamua, a me kona ku ana i ka leo a ke alii (Keawenuiaumi). A e olelo ae hoi kakou no ke keiki Pikoiakaalala, a me Waiakea hoi kona kuleana o ka ua Kanilehua a me ke one o Ohele i Kanukuokamanu.

Part 6.

So my readers, we have seen that Mainele was not so smart, as was declared by his boastful words spoken earlier, and in his rising up to the voice of the king (Keawe-nui-a-'Umi). Now let us speak again of our youth, Pikoi-a-ka-'alalā and of Waiākea, and his place in the *Kanilehua* rains, and the sands of 'Ōhele at Kanukuokamanu.

Ia Keawenuiaumi ma i pii ai iuka me Mainele, e like me ka mea i kii iai nona, a o Waiakea pu no hoi kekahi i na la a Mainele e pana ana, ma ke ao wale no nae, a ahiahi no hoi no o Waiakea i kai, oiai o kana aikane (Pikoiakaalala) wale no ko ka hale, no ka mea, aohe he lana nui o kona manao i ka pii iuka e ike i ko Mainele pana ana, no ka mea hoi, ua maopopo no iaia, aohe e ku ana na manu ia Mainele, nolaila no ke kumu o ko

When Keawe-nui-a-'Umi and his companions traveled to the uplands with Mainele, Waiākea, who had gone to fetch him was there as well. He stayed during certain days when Mainele was shooting at the birds, but in the evening, Waiākea returned to the shore where his friend (Pikoi-a-ka-'alalā) remained at the house. This was because he had no great desire to travel to the uplands to see Mainele's efforts at

Pikoiakaalala noho ana i kai, a no ka hoonanea ia hoi kekahi e ke aheahe makani he Malanai, a me ka hooholu maikai ia e ka lau o ka niu o Mokuola, a o kana mea loa ia e lealea loa ana; mai kona wa i hiki mai ai a hiki i ka manawa a kakou e lohe nei. A he mea mau no hoi i ke Kama Aliiwahine a ke Alii Kalani Keawenuiaumi i ka hele mau ana ma ko Waiakea hale, no ka mea hoi, ua kaomi mau ia kona kania-i e na lawalu manu ai-lehua i ka uka i Olaa, a me ka nahele o Panaewa. A na ia mea i kau-o holookoa mai i kona nui kino e hele mai i kahi o Waiakea, a no ka halawai ana o ke kiionohi o ke kaikamahine alii me ke akawailiula o Mana (Pikoiakaalala) a no laila, ua loaa i ke kaikamahine alii ka haawina kaumaha o kona puuwai palupalu no Pikoiakaalala…

shooting. He knew that Mainele would have no luck in striking the birds, thus Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā remained at the shore, relaxing in the soothing *Malanai* breeze which causes the fronds of the coconut trees of Mokuola to sway. This was his great pleasure, from the time of his arrival through that of which we have heard. The royal daughter of King Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi (named Keakalaulani), also regularly went to the house of Waiākea, where she frequently ate the broiled birds that eat the *lehua* blossoms in the uplands of ʻŌlaʻa and the forests of Panaʻewa. Thus this fair chiefess met with the youth of the red glistening waters of Mānā (Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā). The chiefess had grown heavy, with a softness in her heart for Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā…

A eono la o Keawenuiaumi iuka, a elima hoi po, a i ke ono hoi o ka la i olelo iae la, oia hoi ka la a Keawenuiaumi i pane aku ai ia Mainele a kakou i kuehu aku nei i kela Helu.

Now, for six days and five nights, Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi was in the uplands. It was on the sixth day the Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi told Mainele, that which we read above.

Pii hou aku la no o Waiakea e ike no i ka Mainele hana, a o kana hana mau iho la no ia o ka pii, a o ka Pikoiakaalala mea mau no hoi ka ninau, "Pehea mai la na manu?" O ka hoole no hoi ka Waiakea hana, "Aohe he ku o na manu." A ia Waiakea i hiki aku ai iuka, ike aku la oia e kulou mai anao Mainele, aohe he ekemu iki, aohe hoi he kau mai ma kona wahi mau, oiai ua hala iho la na enemi o ke alii ia Mainele.

Waiākea went again to the uplands to see what Mainele was doing, and when he returned, Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā would ask him, "How are the birds?" Waiākea would tell him, "The birds have not been struck." When Waiākea had gone to the uplands last, he saw Mainele standing with his head bent down, he had no answer, and no place to go at all, thus the enemies of the king had passed on to Mainele.

Nolaila, ninau ae la o Waiakea i ke alii, "No keaha hoi ka mea e kulou nei o Mainele, aohe hoi he ekumu iki, aohe hoi he pana mai i na manu?" "No ke akamai ole," wahi a Keawenuiaumi.

Waiākea then asked the King, "Why is Mainele standing there with his head bent down, with the least bit to say, did he not shoot the birds?" "No, because he did not have the skill," said Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi.

Alaila, pane aku la o Waiakea penei, oiai he wahi kahu iwikuamoo ponoiia no ke alii; "E kuu Haku e; e aho paha e hoao hoi i kau wahi pana." "Aia i hea kau pana?" wahi a Keawenuiaumi. "Aia no hoi i kai o Hilo, i kou hale no ia e noho la." Ninau mai la o Keawenuiaumi, "Nohea ia kanaka?" "No Oahu mai no hoi," wahi a Waiakea. "Oia no hoi ka mea nana e pana na haawe manu au i amo aku ai i na la maka pehu ai o kakou la, au no hoi i ninau mai ai iau la," wahi a Waiakea.

Waiākea then spoke as a true retainer of the king, "My lord; perhaps you will try my friend with the bow." "Where is your bow-man?" Asked Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi. "There at the shore of Hilo, at my house where I live." Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi then asked, "Where is this man from?" "From Oʻahu," said Waiākea. "He is the one who has shot the abundance of birds, which we ate until our eyes bulged. I will ask him," said Waiākea.

…Penei hoi o Waiakea i olelo ai, "He oi wale no kela keiki akamai nui wale, ia lakou nei i holo e mai ai (Mainele ma) ma na waa kaulua mai Oahu mai, hoi mai hoi au mai ka makaikai ana mai, a hiki mai au i kahi i kau ai na waa o makou, o kou wahi waa wale no ke kau ana, a e ku ana ua keiki la malaila, a iau e hoomakaukau ana i kuu wahi waa, ninau mai la ua keiki la, E holo ana kou waa a i hea? hai aku la au, "E hoi ana au i Hawaii, o makou hoi me ka waa kaulua, i kii mai nei ia Mainele, a eia ka hoi ua hala e aku nei." Alaila, olelo mai la kela iau, "O kaua hoi ha ke holo i ike au i kou aina o Hawaii." ae aku la au, ae, o ko ia la ee mai la no ia, a o ka holo mai la no ia o maua.

Waiākea then said, "The knowledge and skill of this youth is above everyone elses. When we went on our journey to Oʻahu (for Mainele and companions), and the double-hulled canoes, landed on Oʻahu, when we came back from our journey on land, I saw this youth standing next to my canoe. And as I prepared my canoe, the youth asked me, "Where is your canoe off to?" And I answered, "I am returning to Hawaiʻi, all of us and the double-hulled canoes. We have fetched Mainele, and he has gone." He then said to me, "Let the two of us travel, so that I may see your land, Hawaiʻi." I agreed and he boarded the canoe, and we two traveled together.

…Alaila, kena koke mai la o Keawenuiaumi, "O kii hoi ha," o ke kii mai la no ia o Waiakea a hiki ana, ia hiki anaku o Waiakea…olelo aku la o Waiakea, "I kii mai nei au ia oe e pii kaua iuka e panai oe i na enemi o kuu alii Keawenuiaumi, no kou ike ana ia oe no kou akamai lua ole i ka pana, nolaila, ua hai aku nei au i ke alii i na mea a pau au i ike ai nou, a oia ka mea i hoouna mai nei o Keawenuiaumi iau e kii mai ia oe, no ka mea, ua huhu loa ia o Mainele, a ua uluhua loa no hoi ke alii no ke ku ole o kona mau enemi."

Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi then ordered, "Bring him here." So Waiākea went and fetched him. When Waiākea came to stand before his friend (Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā)… Waiākea said, "I have come to bring you to the uplands, that you may shoot the enemies of my king, Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi, for I have seen your unsurpassed skill with the bow. Thus I told the king all that I had seen you do, and so he is the one who sent me to get you. He is very angry with Mainele, the king is very troubled that he did not strike down his enemies."

Alaila, olelo mai la o Pikoiakaalala, "He punahele no nae paha oe ia Keawenuiaumi?" "Ae," wahi a Waiakea. Alaila, i aku la o Pikoiakaalala, "A i na he punahele io oe ea, E pii oe a olelo aku i poi nui, e hoopiha a piha pono i ka wai, a e lawe ae a malalo pono o ke kumu o ke koa, kahi a na manu e kau ai," he ae wale no ka Waiakea. "A eia hou, ina e ike oe ua hiki aku au, alaila, e paae oe me ka pauku laau i ko lima, a iau e ku ana ma kahi o ke poi wai a nanae iluna i kahi a na manu e kau mai ana."

Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā then spoke, "Perhaps you are a favorite of Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi?" "Yes," answered Waiākea. Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā then said, "If you are a true favorite, you must go up there and take a large container and fill it with water. Take it below the *koa* tree where the birds perch." Waiākea agreed to do so. "Here also, when you see that I have arrived, strike your hand with a piece of wood until I am standing at the place where the water container is set, and I am looking up to where the birds perch." [January 20, 1866]

HELU 7.

"A pau auanei kuu nana ana iluna i na manu la ea, alaila, e hahau iho oe i kekahi kanaka o Mainele ma, oiai elima ko lakou nui mai Oahu mai. A iau auanei e kilo ana ilalo i ke poi wai la ea, alaila, hahau no oe i kekahi kanaka; pela no oe e hahau ai a pau i ka make eha kanaka, a o Mainele hoi, e waiho oe ia ia, aia a ike mai oe iau e lena ana au i kuu kikoo, a heluhelu au i ke mele, a pau ia, hookuu au i kuu pua, a make na

Part 7.

"When I am finished looking above at the birds, you must strike down one of the men with Mainele folks, for there are five of them who have come from Oʻahu. And then when I gaze into the water container, you must again strike down one of the men; and so it must be that you strike and kill four men, you must only leave Mainele. You will then see me string my bow, and I shall recite a chant. When I release

manu, alaila, hahau iho no oe ia Mainele, i hookahi kona make ana me na enemi mau o ke Alii; pela auanei oe e hanai, e like me kau olelo ia oe, ke punahele io hoi oe na ke alii."

my arrow, the birds shall be killed. Then you will kill Mainele, thus his death shall come at the time of the death of the enemies of the King. These are the things that you must do, as I have instructed, then you will become the true favorite one of the king."

O keia mau olelo a pau a Pikoiakaalala i aoao ai ia Waiakea, he ae wale no ka Waiakea. A pau ko laua kamailio ana no keia mau mea i olelo ia; hoomaka koke iho la o Waiakea e kukini mama, e hai aku i kona Haku Alii i na mea a pau a kana pana akamai, ana i kaena e ai imua o ke alii nona ka enemi mau o na manu.

All of the instructions given by Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā to Waiākea, Waiākea agreed to. When they finished their conversation, Waiākea swiftly ran back to tell the King all about the skilled one with the bow, and what had been said about the one who had boasted before the king and the despised birds.

Ia Waiakea i pii ai, oia aku no mamua o ka pii ana, mahope wali aku no o Pikoiakaalala, o kona kumu hoi i emi hope ai, no ka walea i ke kui lei lehua mamo ai a ka manu, a me kona hoonaue pu ana aku kekahi me ka ua i Hilo one, (Keakalaulani) ia Waiakea e ahai ana i na huaolelo i haiia iaia, aole no hoi oia i ike mai i ka Pikoiakaalala ma hoonaue ana mai mahope. A hiki e o Waiakea i kahi a ke alii Keawenuiaumi e noho ana, ma Kalehuapueo, a o Pikoiakaalala ma aku no hoi a Makaulele, ike aku la o Pikoiakaalala i ka popohe maikai mai a ka lehua ula me ka lehua kea, olelo ae la ia i ke Kama Alii Wahine, "Ina paha e ike au i ke kui ana o ka lei lehua, ina la wau ua hele e kui i lei no kaua," pane mai la ke Kama Alii Wahine opio, "Owau no kai ike, nau no e kui aku i lei nou, a paa ko lei, pii hoi oe, a hoi no hoi au a Alenoho, kakali o ka huikau o na manu i ka pua o ka lehua."

While Waiākea was going to the uplands, Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā was slowly following behind. The reason being that he was enjoying himself, making garlands of the *lehua mamo* blossoms, food of the *mamo* birds, and traveling with Keakalaulani, who was like the rains of *Hilo One*. Waiākea followed the instructions given him, but he did not know that Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā them, were following behind. When Waiākea arrived before the King, Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi, who was then dwelling at Kalehuapueo, Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā them were at Makaulele, where they saw the perfect fullness of the *lehua* blossoms—red *lehua* and white *lehua*. He said to the Chiefess, "If only I knew how to string a *lei* of these *lehua* blossoms, I would make a *lei* for us two." The Chiefess answered, "I am one who knows how, let me make a *lei* for you. And when you go to the uplands, I will return and wait at ʻAlenoho, waiting with tumult of the birds on the *lehua* blossoms.

O ke kui iho la no ia o Keakalaulani a lawa na lei lehua eha. O ke kui ana a ua Kama Alii Wahine opio la i na lei lehua eha, i pauku ia ka lehua ula me ka lehua kea, a hoolei aku la no hoi o Keakalaulani ia Pikoiakaalala i na lei; a no ke kokolo waianuhea ana mai a ke aheahe makani mailoko mai o ka ululaau, a o ka laua mea hoi ia e nanea ana ma ia wahi, me ko laua manao e kali ia Waiakea a kii hou mai. Ia ia i kuehu pau mai ai ka lau o ka palai noho uka a me ka maile laulilii i ko lakou onaona, a he mea oluolu loa i ko ke Alii Wahine manao.

Keakalaulani then made four perfect garlands of *lehua*. The four *lehua* garlands made by the young chiefess, were made in sections of red *lehua* blossoms and white *lehua* blossoms, with which she adorned Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā; the cool moist breeze caressed the forest, they two relaxed and awaited the return of Waiākea. They then thought to go gather the *palai* of the uplands and the *maile lauliʻi*, for their fragrance was something that gave comfort to the thoughts of the Chiefess.

A ia Waiakea hoi i hoea aku ai oia wale no, aole hoi ka mea ana i kii hou ai (Pikoiakaalala.) Ninau mai la o Keawenuiaumi, "Auhea la hoi ke keiki

Now when Waiākea returned, he was by himself, the one whom he had gone to fetch, (Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā) was not with him. Keawe-

akamai i ka pana, au i olelo iho nei iau, a o ka makou ia e kali aku nei?" Olelo aku la no hoi o Waiakea, "Ei ae no mahope mai, i pii e mai nei au mamua nei e olelo aku ia oe, a ina oe e ae mai alaila, e olelo aku au?" "Pehea ia olelo au e ae aku ai au?" Alaila, hoopuka mai la o Keawenuiaumi i kona manao penei: "Ua ike no oukou a pau i kau mau mea i hooko ai no ka poe a pau i na mai e pio kou mau enemi manu; a ma ka lakou mau olelo wale no au e hooko aku ai; o kau mau olelo no hoi a pau au e olelo mai nei no kau akamai, pela no au e hooko aku ai." A pau ka olelo ana a ke alii, hoomakaukau ia iho la na mea a pau i oleloia. Hoopiha ia iho la kekahi poi nui a piha i ka wai, hapaiia aku la a ke kumu o ke koa. A ike iho la o Waiakea ua hooko ia kona mau olelo a pau e kona Haku.

nui-a-'Umi asked, "Where is the youth that is skilled with the bow of whom you told me, and for whom we wait?" Waiākea answered, "He is following behind, I came to the uplands first to speak with you." "What are the words that you wish to speak?" "What do you think of these words that I have spoken to you?" Keawe-nui-a-'Umi the spoke his thoughts, "All of you know the things that I have done for the one who would extinguish my enemies. And it was only by their saying it, that I fulfilled the needs. Now, all that you have said, from your skilled one, so I shall fulfill his instructions." When the king finished speaking, all things that were instructed were prepared. A large container was filled with water and carried to the *koa* tree. Waiākea saw that all that he had spoken to his Lord had been accomplished.

Alaila, ua kii aku la o Waiakea ia Pikoiakaalala, a loaa no iaia e pukukui ana no i ke anu a ka ua lililehua o Makaulele. "O oe mai la ia?" wahi a Pikoiakaalala. "Owau keia o Waiakea o kau aikane aloha, i kii hou mai nei au ia oe, ua ae mai nei kuu Haku i na mea a pau au i kena mai ai iau e pii e mamua, a o ia hoi au i holo hou mai nei ia oe." "Ina kaua," wahi a Pikoiakaalala o ka pii aku la no ia o laua (Pikoiakaalala ma), a hoi no hoi o Keakalaulani ma me kona wahi kahu wahine i kai o Hilo.

Then Waiākea went to fetch Pikoi-a-ka-'alalā , and found him there in the cold misty rains of Makaulele. "So it is you?" said Pikoi-a-ka-'alalā. "It is I, your friend," said Waiākea, "Come to fetch you, for my Lord had agreed to all that you said, before I went up. And now I have come for you." Pikoi-a-ka-'alalā said "It is for us." So they two made preparations to go to the uplands. Keakalaulani and her female attendant returned to the shore of Hilo.

Ia Pikoiakaalala ma i hiki aku ai ma kekahi oioina, o Mahinaakaaka ka inoa, aia no kela wahi ma ke alanui e pii ana i Olaa. Ilaila, ike aku la o Pikoiakaalala i kekahi iole nui, pane aku la ia ia Waiakea, "Ka iole nui hoi!," "Aia i hea?" wahi a Waiakea, "Ei aku mamua o kaua, ua hele ka nuku a paa i ka pulu hapuu." O ka pana aku la no ia o Pikoiakaalala, ku no ua iole nei, o Akiakaiole, a ua pana ia no ia wahi o Akiakaiole, aia no ma Olaa. Mahope aku no hoi laua nei, a ike iho la o Waiakea i keia iole nui io e waiho ana. A pii aku la no laua nei a hiki i Kapueuhi, malaila no ko laua komo anaku, no ka mea, o ke alanui no ia e pii ai a hiki i kahua kalaiwaa o ke alii Keawenuiaumi, oia hoi o Kalehuapueo.

Pikoi-a-ka-'alalā and his companion arrived at a trailside resting place known by the name of Mahina'akaaka; that place is along the trail that ascends to 'Ōla'a. There, Pikoi-a-ka-'alalā saw a very large *'iole*, he told Waiākea, "What a large *'iole*!" "Where?" "There in front of us. The snout is held fast in the *pulu* of the *hāpu'u*." Pikoi-a-ka-'alalā then shot, and struck the *iole* named 'Aki'akia'iole. 'Aki'akia'iole is now one of the storied places in 'Ōla'a. Afterwards, Waiākea saw the great *iole* left there. They then continued upland till they reached Kapu'euhi; they entered there because the trail rises up to the clearing of the canoe makers of the king, Keawe-nui-a-'Umi, that is Kalehuapueo.

A hiki aku la laua nei i kahi i oleloia ae nei, pihoihoi nui mai la ka ahakanaka me na huaolelo ma ko lakou waha, "Eia ua pana akamai loa la! A pela mau ka ka aha olelo, a no ka hooho nui ana o na kanaka, oiai e noho ana no o Mainele ia Kepookulou, a i kee anae iluna, ike aku la ia ia

They then arrived at the place spoken of above, and the people were greatly excited, and the words from their mouths were "So here is the expert with the *pana!*" Such were the words and murmuring of the people. Meanwhile, Mainele was sitting with his head

Pikoiakaalala ma e pii mai ana, a i kona ike ana o ke keiki no a laua i pana ai i Kulaokahua, a i mua hoi o Kakuihewa, manao maopopo loa iho la ia, me ka olelo ae i kona mau hoa eha, "E make ana paha kakou," "I ke aha hoi?" wahi a kona mau hoa. O ke keiki no hoi keia a maua i pana ai iloko o ka hale o Kakuihewa i Oahu." Kai no paha he keiki e keia i olelo iae nei…

hung down, as Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā and his companion drew near. Then he knew that this was the youth with whom he had competed in the sport of *pana* at Kulaokahuʻa (Oʻahu), before the king, Kakuihewa. He then knew, and told his four companions, "We are going to die." Why?" they asked. "This is the youth that we competed with in the sport of *pana* at the house of Kakuihewa, at Oʻahu." "Perhaps this is a different youth," they said.

A ma ia wa i hooili ia iho ai ko Mainele naau e ka ukana kaumaha he hilahila, me ka manao no nae hoi, o ka hilahila wale no ke loaa iaia, aole la hoi o ka make pu kekahi e hana ia nona. A ku o Pikoiakaalala ma ke kumu o ke koa, kahi hoi a ke poi wai e ku ana, ka laau hoi a na manu e kau mau ai, nanae la ia iluna, a ike ae la i na manu e kau ana i ka wekiu, oiai ua hookoele e iaku mamua, i mea e lohe ole ai ka mea kaulana i ka pana; a ike lea ae la o Pikoiakaalala i na manu, hoi iho la kona mau maka ilalo i ke poiwai hoomanao ae la o Waiakea i kona kauoha, hapai ae la i kana laau, a hahau iho la i kekahi kanaka o Mainele, a make loa, ka Pikoiakaalala no ke kilo i ke poi wai, o ka Waiakea hana no hoi ka pepehi i kanaka o Mainele, a pau eha kanaka i ka make, a o Mainele aku no hoi ka hope, aia a heluhelu ae o Pikoiakaalala i kana mele mau, alaila, o ko Mainele wa ia e make ai ia Waiakea. A ma ia wa no, hoomaka iho la o Pikoiakaalala e lena i kana kikoo, me ka nana no nae o na maka ilalo i ke poiwai.

Then Mainele's very core trembled with sadness and the burden of shame, knowing that only shame would be had by him; he did not know that death would be the result of his deeds. Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā stood at the *koa* tree, where the water container had been set, and below the branch where the birds regularly perched. He looked up and saw the birds perched at the very top of the tree. He then caused the tapping of the wood to begin, so that the sound of the bow of this famous one would not be heard. Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā rejoiced at seeing the birds, and then looked down into the water container. Waiākea then remembered what he had been instructed, and took up his club and struck and killed the first of the men who had accompanied Mainele; and so he killed all four of the men. Only Mainele remained. Then Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā began his chant, and that was the time that Mainele was to die. At the same time, Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā began to string his bow, while his eyes were looking down into the water container.

Heluhelu ae la ia i kana wahi mele mau. Penei no ia:

"Aia la, aia la o Pikoiakaalala,
O Alala no ka makuakane,
O Koukou no ka makuahine,
Hanau o Kikoookalani,
O Kikoookahonua,
O Kikoookamauna,
O Kikoookamoana,
O Kikoookapo,
O Kikoookeao,
O Kapunanui,
O Kapunaiki,
O Ke-i,
O Ke-hamau,
Hamau - Aia ka hoi ua manu iluna,
Eia hoi au ilalo nei,
E lele ae oe e kuu pua,
O ka a-i o kela manu,

He recounted his mele, thus:

"Behold, there is Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā,
ʻAlalā is the father,
Koukou is the mother,
Born was Kīkoʻokalani
(Expanse of the heavens),
Expanse of the earth,
Expanse of the mountain,
Expanse of the sea,
Expanse of the night,
Expanse of the light,
Of the large spring,
Of the little spring,
That which is spoken,
That which is silent,
Silence, there are the birds above,
And here I am below,
Let you fly my arrow,

O ka a-i o keia manu,
Huihui a kahi hookahi."

The target is that bird,
The target is that bird,
Joined together as one."

O ka hookuu aku la no ia o Pikoiakaalala i kana pua, oia kolili no a ku ana na a-i o a na manu a elua; i ka pua no ana a lele, o ka manawa koke iho la no ia o Pikoiakaalala i holo ai i kai, me kona ike ole aku i ke ku ana o na manu. Uwa nui ae la ka pihe kanaka, me ka hooho ana; "a make ka manu e!" A pela mau aku no ka ikuwa hauwalaau ana o nalii me na kanaka.

Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā then released his arrow, it twirled and struck the two birds; the moment the arrow flew, Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā immediately departed for the lowlands, not knowing whether or not he had hit the birds. There was a great roar from the people there, calling out, "The birds are dead!" And such was the din of the voices of the chiefs and people.

A o Pikoiakaalala hoi, aia kela ke holo kiki la i kai, me kona manao no, aole e ku ana iaia na manu, no ka mea, he mau manu akamai loa i ka alo ana i ka pua. Eia ka auanei ua ku aku la no, a no ke ku ana ka ka mea e uwa nui ia mai nei mahope. A iaia i akakuu iki iho ai kona holo ana, ua komo aku la nae keia i ka nahele loloa o Panaewa; halulu ana hoi o Waiakea ma-hope ona, a alawa ae la ia, o Waiakea no; ninau ae la o Pikoiakaalala, "Pehea na manu, ua ku nae paha?" "Ae, ua ku," wahi a Waiakea. "A heaha hoi kou mea i holo mai nei?" "No kou manao no aole i ku na manu…" "E hoi hou kaua," wahi a Waiakea, o ka hoi hou aku la no o laua nei a hiki i kahi o ka luahi a kana pua, o na enemi mau hoi o Keawenuiaumi."

Now Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā had arrived at the shore, not knowing if he had killed the birds or not; for the two birds were extremely clever at dodging the arrows. But he had hit them, and that was the reason for the great cry rising behind him. So he slowed down his pace, and entered into the dense forest of Panaʻewa. Waiākea was noisily following him, and saw him. Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā asked Waiākea, "How are the birds, were they hit?" Waiākea said, "Yes." "And why have you followed me?" Because at first I thought that perhaps the birds had not been hit…" Waiākea then said, "Let us two return to the place where the arrow struck the enemies of Keawe-nui-a-ʻUmi."

Ku kohana iho la o Pikoiakaalala imua o ke alii, nona na enemi e waiho ana i ka make. Ia wa, hoike ae la oia i kona inoa, a me kona akamai nui, penei no ia:

Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā stood alone before the king, and the dead enemies were there on the side. At the time he revealed his name to the king, his great skill was known, the king spoke thus:

"O kuu mea i upu ai, o ka mea e make ai o kou mau enemi, alaila, e lilo kau kaikamahine i wahine hoao nana, a e hooili aku no hoi au i kou Noho Alii maluna ona, oiai hoi, o oe ae nei ke akamai lua ole, nana i pale ae nei i ka mea uluhua a kou naau, e enemi mau ai i ke Kau me ka Hooilo, o ka noho ana o nei aina, me ka lana nui o kou manao, e lilo i keiki oe nau, a owau hoi kou makua, a o Hawaii nei ka Moku noho ia, o luna, o lalo, o uka, o kai, o ke kanaka nui, o ke kanaka iki, a hale nui, a hale iki, ua pau a me oe. A o kuu Kama Lei aloha he kaikamahine, o ka mea ia nana e hoopumehana kou poli o na po ua lanipili o ua wahi nei" (Hilohanakahi).

"My desire was that my enemies be killed, and to the one who succeeded, would be wed to my daughter, and also inherit my kingdom. Therefore, because you have unsurpassed knowledge, and have protected me from my enemies—those who caused me grief summer and winter, in the dwelling upon this land—it is with great hope that you will become a son to me, and I will be your father. Hawaiʻi will be the Island upon which you dwell—above, below, from the uplands to the sea; the great men, the little men; the great houses, the little houses, all are for you. And my cherished daughter, a beloved lei, is the one who will warm your breast on the rainy nights of this place here" (Hilo Hanakāhi).

A pau na olelo a ke alii, o ka hoi iho la no ia o ke alii me na makaainana a pau, a halihali pu ia o Mainele me na manu i kai o Hilo, a kau ia i ka Heiau i Poo, aia no kela wahi ma Hilo one, a malaila pu o Kanukuokamanu, o ka nuku no ia o ua mau manu la... [Iaunari 27, 1866]

When the king finished speaking, he, all the chiefs and people, and those carrying Mainele and the birds, returned to the shore of Hilo. Mainele was placed on the Temple at Po‘o; that place is there on *Hilo One*, at Kanukuokamanu; and it is named for the *nuku* (beaks) of those birds… [January 27, 1866]

Another indication of the traditional importance of resources in the lands of ‘Ōla‘a and Waiākea is found in the writings of native historian, John Papa I‘i (1959). I‘i reported that following the death of Kalani‘ōpu‘u in 1782, the island of Hawai‘i was to have been ruled by Kīwala‘ō, Kalani‘ōpu‘u’s son, while the gods and *heiau* were to be cared for by Kamehameha I. Disagreements arose over the division and redistribution of lands following Kalani‘ōpu‘u’s death. I‘i reported that while the division of lands to be made by Kīwala‘ō was being discussed, his half-brother, Keōua, was told by one of his advisers:

> “…Perhaps you should go to the chief and ask that these lands be given to us. Let Waiakea and Keaau be the container from whence our food is to come and Olaa the lid [5].” Keoua did so, but the other Kau chiefs objected to this and spoke disparagingly to him. When Keoua returned, his advisor asked, “How was your venture?” When Keoua told him all that had been said, the man remarked seriously, “A break in a gourd container can be mended by patching, but a break in the land cannot be mended that way...” (I‘i 1959:14)

Kū-ka-‘ōhi‘a-Laka

The tradition of Kū-ka-‘ōhi‘a-Laka dates from the period of settlement of these islands, when the gods themselves took human forms and resided upon the land. It is recorded that the gods Kū-ka-‘ōhi‘a-Laka and his sister Ka-ua-kuahiwi came from Kahiki (the ancestral home land) to Hawai‘i, and settled at Kea‘au and ‘Ōla‘a, Puna. Kū-ka-‘ōhi‘a-Laka (Kū) and his wife resided near the shore at Kea‘au, and Ka-ua-kuahiwi, her husband and children lived upland in ‘Ōla‘a. Kū’s wife was stingy, and at one time denied Ka-ua-kuahiwi and her family fish that Kū had caught. Out of desperation, Ka-ua-kuahiwi turned her husband and children into rats, and turned herself into a spring of water. When Kū learned of this occurrence, he went to the spring and turned himself into an *‘ōhi‘a* tree (cf. Green and Pukui 1995:19-20; and Beckwith 1970). This *‘ōhi‘a* tree was known as a supernatural tree and the spring and tree were one of the *wahi pana* (special storied places) along the ancient trail leading to and from the volcano area in ‘Ōla‘a. The location of Kū-ka-‘ōhi‘a-Laka was near the 13 mile marker of the old Volcano Road (pers comm. M.K. Pukui, 1976).

Ka U‘i Keamalu (Keamalu the Beauty)

There once lived at Paliuli, an upland region of ‘Ōla‘a, a beautiful chiefess named Keamalu. Keamalu was raised in the seclusion of the forests by her supernatural elders, and until she matured, she was never seen by anyone. A spring in ‘Ōla‘a is named Pūnāwai o Keamalu, and it was there, that the chiefess went to bathe. One day while at Pūnāwai o Keamalu, a young man came upon her, and he was so taken by her beauty that he asked her to become his wife. She refused, but he would not leave her, and her bird guardians took her away on their wings. Word of Keamalu’s beauty went throughout Puna, and the young man’s sweetheart, the beautiful Kalehua‘ula and her parents spoke disparagingly about Keamalu. Keamalu’s guardians were angered by the comments, and a contest was arranged so that all the people of Puna could see and compare the two beauties. Keamalu, adorned with *maile* and *lehua kea* (white blossomed *lehua*), with *‘i‘iwi* flying over her, won the contest.

[5] The reference to ‘Ōla‘a as the “lid,” may be taken to imply that the fine resources of bird feathers, *olonā* fiber for cordage, and the famous *kapa* (bark cloth) called *‘ō‘ū-holo-wai-o-La‘a* were the wealth which covered the needs of the chiefs.

She and the young man were married, and they lived at Paliuli. “As for the spring of Keamalu, it was hidden and is shown to very few people” (Green and Pukui,1995:32-33).

“Kaao Hooniua Puuwai no Ka-Miki”
(The Heart Stirring Story of Ma-Miki)

Perhaps one of the most detailed native traditions which includes rich accounts of place names and traditional practices associated with the Puna-Hilo forest lands, and associated *ahupua‘a*, is the historical account titled “*Kaao Hooniua Puuwai no Ka-Miki*” (The Heart Stirring Tale of Ka-Miki). The story of Ka-Miki was published in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* (1914-1917). It is a long and complex account that was recorded for the paper by Hawaiian historians John Wise and J.W.H.I. Kihe (translators of the work of A. Fornander), with contributions from others of their peers. While “Ka-Miki” is not an entirely ancient account, the authors used a mixture of traditions, local stories, tales, and family traditions in association with place names to tie together fragments of site specific history that had been handed down over the generations.

The complete narrative include historical accounts of more than 800 place names (many personified, commemorating particular individuals) around the island of Hawai‘i. While the personification of individuals and their associated place names may not be entirely “ancient,” such place name-person accounts are common throughout Hawaiian and Polynesian traditions. The selected narratives below, are excerpted from various sections of the tradition, and provide readers with descriptions of the land, resources, areas of residence, and practices of the native residents, as handed down by *kama‘āina* (those familiar with the land). Of particular interest, specific documentation is given pertaining to the practice of bird catchers, the nature of weather patterns, and the naming of many places on the mountain landscape.

The English translations below (translated by Maly), are a synopsis of the Hawaiian texts, with emphasis on the main events of the original narratives. Also, when the meaning was clear, diacritical marks have been added to help with pronunciation of the Hawaiian place names and words.

> This *mo‘olelo* is set in the 1300s (by association with the chief Pili-a-Ka‘aiea), and is an account of two supernatural brothers, Ka-Miki (The quick, or adept, one) and Maka-‘iole (Rat [squinting] eyes). The narratives describe the birth of the brothers, their upbringing, and their journey around the island of Hawai‘i along the ancient *ala loa* and *ala hele* (trails and paths) that encircled the island. During their journey, the brothers competed alongside the trails they traveled, and in famed *kahua* (contest fields) and royal courts, against *‘ōlohe* (experts skilled in fighting or in other competitions, such as running, fishing, debating, or solving riddles, that were practiced by the ancient Hawaiians). They also challenged priests whose dishonorable conduct offended the gods of ancient Hawai‘i.
>
> Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole were empowered by their ancestress *Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka* (The great entangled growth of *uluhe* fern which spreads across the uplands), who was one of the myriad of body forms of the goddess *Haumea*, one of the creative forces of nature—also called *Papa* or *Hina*—who was also a goddess of priests and competitors.

Pōhaku-loa (Long stone)
The boundary point between Keauhou, Waiākea and ‘Ōla‘a.

Pōhakuloa was a deity of the forest lands which extended across Mauna Loa towards Mauna Kea, and he was called upon by canoe makers. In his human form, Pōhakuloa was an *‘ōlohe* expert and wood worker.

When Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole left ‘Uwēkahuna *mā* (and companions) at Kīlauea, they traveled into the upland section of the district of Puna. Hearing the striking sounds of

koʻi pōhaku pāhoa (large adze against wood), the brothers thought that perhaps canoe makers were working nearby. As they approached the source of the sounds, Ka-Miki and Maka-ʻiole saw a large round house, of the type with a high pitched roof (*pūʻoʻa*). And at the center of the house a man was working on a *koa* log which was seven fathoms long and three feet in diameter. [September 16, 1915]

Working intently, this man was startled at hearing a voice call to him, thus he stopped his carving. Ka-Miki then asked, "Is this the path by which one would travel to Keaʻau?" Angered at being interrupted, Pōhakuloa responded, "Donʻt you know the direction of the path upon which you two travel? If you just go straight on you will reach Keaʻau." He then went on to say, "My job is not to stand here directing travelers along the trails."

Ka-Miki told Pōhakuloa, "We only asked because we thought that you were a man like us, had we known you were one of the — *Pahulu ke akua ʻāhuluhulu o ka mauna* (Ghoulish broad adze gods of the mountain), we would not have bothered you."

Ka-Miki and Pōhakuloa exchanged taunts, and Pōhakuloa threatened to throw Ka-Miki and Maka-ʻiole into a deep pit. Ka-Miki then told Pōhakuloa, "It is unlikely that you could beat *Nana-i-ke-kihi* and *Kahuelo-ku*. It was more likely that the great grandchildren of *Ka-uluhe* and *Lani-nui-kuʻi-a-mamao-loa* will bind you like a pig, and leave you along the *ala loa* for travelers to see."

Angered, Pōhakuloa leapt to attack Ka-Miki, and was immediately bound, unable to move. Though he tried with all his might and skill, Pōhakuloa was unable to free himself. Ka-Miki called out to Pōhakuloa —

> *Paʻa loa e Pōhakuloa. Paʻa i ka ʻalihi o Kanikawī ke kōkō aīwaiwa a kuʻu mau kūpuna wahine... Paʻa ʻoe i ke kāwelewele o Halekumukaʻaha ka ʻupena kuʻu a ka nananana, o Kai-halulu ia, o kuʻi a holo, piʻi a noho, pupuʻu a moe mālie, kau i ke Kōkī o Wailau...*
>
> Pōhakuloa is secured. Bound in the lines of *Kanikawī*, the mysterious net of my female ancestors... You are bound in the ropes of Halekumukaʻaha, in the net set down by the spider, and though thrashing about like the sea of Kaihalulu, which strikes and runs, which rises and recedes, which mounds up and lies calm, you cannot escape, for you are placed like the shrimp at Kōkī, Wailau (Molokaʻi)...

…Pōhakuloa realized that these young travelers were no ordinary people, but that they traveled with the gods, deities and guardians of the *ʻōlohe*, and he surrendered, acknowledging the skill and nature of Ka-Miki and Maka-ʻiole. Pōhakuloa also promised that from then on, he would use his knowledge wisely.

Pōhakuloa then went to his brother-in-law, Kapuʻeuhi, to ask his assistance in preparing food and *ʻawa* for Ka-Miki and Maka-ʻiole. Kapuʻeuhi laughed upon hearing Pōhakuloa's story and planned to show up Pōhakuloa, by tricking and defeating Ka-Miki and Maka-ʻiole [September 23, 1915].

Kapuʻeuhi lost and vowed revenge, but Pōhakuloa remained true to his word of friendship, refusing to assist Kapuʻeuhi. Kapuʻeuhi then went to Kaniahiku to enlist her assistance [October 14, 1915].

Ka-puʻe-uhi (The yam planting mound).
The lands of Kapuʻeuhi, in the upper forests of Kaliʻu, at ʻŌlaʻa, were named for the *ʻōlohe* chief, Kapuʻeuhi.

Kapu‘euhi went to get Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole from Pōhakuloa's compound and invited them to his house for *‘awa* and food. Kapu‘euhi challenged Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole to drink five cups of *‘awa*, stating that if they were unable to drink that amount, he would throw them out of his house. Now this type of *‘awa*, the *‘awa kau lā‘au* (*‘awa* planted by the birds on tree branches) was very powerful, and few people could drink large quantities. Thus, many people were thrown from Kapu‘euhi's compound and left to wonder drunk and lost in the forest. This practice of Kapu‘euhi's was the source of the saying — *“Lilo i Puna i ke au a ka hewahewa!”* (Lost in Puna in a time of demented thoughts–drunkenness; descriptive of aimless wandering, or senseless work!).

Ka-Miki accepted the challenge, but stated that if they won, they would throw Kapu‘euhi out of his compound. Ka-Miki then offered an *‘awa* prayer chant to *Ka-uluhe*, *Haumea*, and their associated god forms:

Iā Kumakua-moe-awakea	To (the deity) Kumakua [tall *lehua* which reclines in the afternoon sun]
Iā ‘Ōhi‘a-nui-moe-awakea	To *‘Ōhi‘a-nui* [great *‘ōhi‘a* which reclines in *the afternoon sun]*
I nā Wahine-moe-awakea	The women who sleep in the midday sun
Iā Ka-‘ohu-kolo-mai-iluna-o-ka-lā‘au	To the mist which creeps atop the forest
Iā Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka...	To Ka-uluhe the great entangled *uluhe* fern growth of the uplands...
Iā Hai-uli wahine o Mākea	To Hai-uli wife of Mākea
O Kamehanalani, O Kāmeha‘ikana	Who is also called Kamehanalani, or Kāmeha‘ikana,
O Haumea, O Haumea-nui-a-ke-aīwaiwa.	It is Haumea, great mysterious Haumea.

Hearing Ka-Miki's prayer, his deified ancestresses responded, and *Ka-‘ohu-kolo-mai-iluna-o-ka-lā‘au* caused a mist to envelope Kapu‘euhi's compound, and its' foundation was rocked by the strong winds, the *‘ōhi‘a, kōlea, kāwa‘u, kōpiko, ‘ama‘u*, and *koa* were all broken in the winds that blew. [September 30, 1915]

Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole drank all the *‘awa* and Kapu‘euhi was startled at the strength of the two young strangers. Kapu‘euhi tried to back out of his earlier challenge, but Ka-Miki would not release him from the arrangement, thus Kapu‘euhi had to fetch more *‘awa* for Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole.

Now Kapu‘euhi lived near the spring of Wai-uli. His compound consisted of several houses, and in one guest house he killed many travelers while they slept. He placed his compound near the *ala loa* which ran from Pana‘ewa through ‘Ōla‘a, into coastal Puna and on to Ka‘ū. Kapu‘euhi's regular practice was get travelers drunk on *‘awa*. Once the travelers were asleep, Kapu‘euhi would play a *hōkiokio* (gourd nose flute) to call his assistants who were hiding in another one of his houses. They would kill the guests and take their valuables; *kapa*, finely woven mats, feathers, and *olonā*... [October 7, 1915]

Unable to get Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole drunk, and angered that Ka-Miki discerned his true nature, Kapu‘euhi leapt to attack Ka-Miki and was quickly beaten and thrown out of his compound onto the *ala loa*. Kapu‘euhi was startled at his quick defeat, and he feigned friendship with Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole. Ka-Miki told Kapu‘euhi that to live, he and his companions would need to give up their waylaying of travelers. Kapu‘euhi asked for three days to consider, Ka-Miki agreed.

Kapu‘euhi then began to plot for revenge, Pōhakuloa refused to help, so Kapu‘euhi went to enlist the aid of the most feared *‘ōlohe* of Puna's forests; Kaniahiku and her

grandson, Keahialaka. Kaniahiku and her god Kūlilikaua were guardians of the forests of Kali‘u and Malama, damaging the forest greatly angered them. Many people died while traveling in the forests, carelessly breaking plants or loudly calling out, disturbing the silence.

Kaniahiku told Kapu‘euhi to tell Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole that the guardians of the *‘awa* grove had nearly killed him while he gathered the *‘awa*. She then told Kapu‘euhi to take Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole to the *‘awa* grove of Mauānuikananuha, where she would cause them to get lost and die. This happened to many who traveled through the Puna forests. And once lost in the forest, there was no way out. Calling out in the forest caused an echo which sounded like a person calling, but following the echo led one deeper into the forest, and this is the reason that the famous saying of Puna came about. Travelers through the forest were warned —

> *E nihi e ka hele mai ho‘opā, mai pūlale i ka ‘ike a ka maka o ako hewa i ka nui o ka lehua, a ho‘opuni ‘ia e ka ‘ino!* (Travel cautiously, being careful not to touch the *lehua*, don‘t rush to see things lest you mistakenly break something and the many *lehua* become offended, causing you to become surrounded by a storm!) [October 21, 1915]

Following Kaniahiku's instructions, Kapu‘euhi led Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iola deep into the forest of Kali‘u, under the pretext of taking them to the *‘awa* grove of Mauānuikananuha. Wandering to and fro, Kapu‘euhi secretly broke *lehua*, *‘ōhelo*, and *kupali‘i* plants as a sign to Kaniahiku of their whereabouts in the forest. Kaniahiku then caused the mist rains and forest envelope Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole. Kapu‘euhi then abandoned them, and was led to safety by ‘Akialoa, Kaniahiku's dual-formed sister.

Kaniahiku then caused a heavy mist to settle upon them and the forest. The plants also grew in tangled mats, blocking the trail from sight. Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole called upon the deity forms of *Ka-uluhe* and her god companions to assist them —

Lani-pipili, Lani-‘oaka,	Clinging and flashing heavens*
Lani-ki‘ei, Lani-hālō,	Peering and peeking gods
Lani-kilo, Lani-papanu‘u,	Divining and highest gods
Lani-ka‘ahele, Lani-hāko‘i,	Traveling and agitated gods
Lani-mamao,	God who clears (the heavens),
Lani-Uli-wahine o Nu‘umealani	Uli-wahine of Nu‘umealani
Ia Haumea!	Oh Haumea!
Ia Haumea-nui-a ke aīwaiwa...	Great mysterious Haumea...

Thus the darkening of the sun was ended, *Ka-‘ōnohi-o-ka-lā* caused the mists to recede, and the forest growth withdrew before Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole, and was scattered as a pathway for their feet. As the forest receded, an *‘auwai* [the name of a wet forest trail] was formed by *Ka-uluhe* and she led Ka-Miki *mā* to the sacred *‘awa* plantation of Mauānuikananuha and Kūlilikaua.

Seeing that Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole had escaped from her efforts at killing them in the forest, Kaniahiku sent her sister, who possessed the form of an *‘Akialoa* (*Hemingnathus munroi*) bird to have Mauānuikananuha and Kūlilikaua carry the *‘awa* to her compound and hide in her house, where an altar was prepared. Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole reached Mauānuikananuha before the instructions could be carried out, and Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole climbed upon the tree-form of the god. Kaniahiku then called to

* These are all names of gods and goddesses of the forests and weather phenomena.

Mauānuikananuha to extend its' body high into the sky, and then fall to the forest, thinking this would kill Ka-Miki and Maka-ʻiole. *Ka-uluhe* caused forest growth to cover Mauānuikananuha, and thus this plan was thwarted as well.

Ka-Miki then captured Kapuʻeuhi and imprisoned him underneath the tangled branching growth of Mauānuikananuha, telling Kapuʻeuhi that he would remain there until Maka-ʻiole and he had their fill of the *ʻawa*. *Kaniahiku t*hen sent her *ʻAkialoa* formed sister to fetch her grandson Keahialaka, in preparation for hand to hand combat [October 28, 1915].

Finding Kapuʻeuhi with Kaniahiku, Ka-Miki confronted him with his treachery, and then securely bound him in the net of his ancestresses... Maka-ʻiole then entangled Kapuʻeuhi in the fallen branches of Mauānuikananuha, where Kapuʻeuhi was left bound… [November 4, 1915]

Ka-Miki went on to defeat Kaniahiku, her grandson, and other famed *ʻōlohe* of Puna as well… [November 11, 1915] …Among the contestants from Puna, was the *ʻōlohe* master, Kahaualeʻa. It was agreed that Kahaualeʻa and Ka-Miki would compete in three contests; *uma* (hand wrestling), *kūpahu* (pushing one's opponent from the arena), and *kūkini* (running) contests. In the *kūkini* contest, Ka-Miki and Kahaualeʻa were required to gather certain famous items to prove that they had actually reached the designated places. These things were:

> The sacred water of the goddess *Waka-keaka-i-ka-wai* and accurately describe the nature of the spring Keakaikaliʻulā and forest of Pali-uli;
>
> A valuable bark-cloth sheet–*kuina kapa ʻŌʻūholowai-o-Laʻa* for which ʻŌlaʻa was famed;
>
> Ten *olonā* (*Touchardia latifolia*) leaves of ʻŌlaʻa;
>
> One of Puna's famed *moena makaliʻi pua hīnano* (fine mesh mats woven from the pandanus flower sheaths); and
>
> To bring back living *ʻoʻopu ʻai lehua* (*Gobidae* fish) of Hiʻilawe and *ʻanae momona* (fat plump rich mullet) which swam in the waters of Pākaʻalana. [January 6, 1916]

Now the lands of Puna are famed for the forest and mist rains called *Uakuahine*. The nature of this place is described by *kamaʻāina* as —

> *Ka noe pōhina i ka uhiwai kokolo iluna o ka lāʻau holo kia-ahi manu pō i ka nahele i ka uka ʻŌlaʻa, a me nā lehua wena o Panaʻewa-nui-moku-lehua ʻōhiʻa kupu-hāoʻeoʻe i ka ua [kani] lehua i ka wī a ka manu a pō e!*
>
> The dark dripping mists crawl above the trees, the birds dart to and fro in the upland forest of ʻŌlaʻa, and the glowing *lehua* blossoms of Panaʻewa-nui-moku-lehua, the sculpted (staggered) *ʻōhiʻa* growth in the *lehua,* rain that resounds with the song of the birds.

The mist laden forests of upper ʻŌlaʻa and Hilo are also described in the mele—

Pō Puna, pō Hilo	Darkened is Puna, darkened is Hilo
Pō wale Hilo e	Indeed Hilo is completely darkened
Pō Hilo i ka uahi o kuʻu ʻāina	Hilo is made dark by the mists of my land
Ola ia kini ke ʻā mai la no i ke ahi...	The multitudes live by the lighting of the fire…

At the outset of the competition, Keahialaka provided the *kapa*, *olonā* leaves, and *moena*, thus eliminating Ka-Miki's need to gather those items. The two competitors then participated in the *uma* and *kūpahu* contests and the roar of the crowd was heard from the shore to the depths of the *waokele*, the upper forests of Kali‘u and Malama. Kahauale‘a was defeated in both of those contests. Then the *kūkini* contest between Kahauale‘a and Ka-Miki began. Ka-Miki was carried to Pali-uli [in the uplands of ‘Ōla‘a and Kea‘au] on *‘Ōhi‘a-nui-moe-awakea* [one of the body forms of Ka-uluhe]. Thus, he arrived at the spring Keaka-i-ka-li‘u-lā which was the dwelling place of Lā‘ie-wai (who came to be called Ka-wahine-i-ka-li‘ulā) and Lā‘ie-lohelohe, the sacred chiefesses and wards of Waka-ke-aka-i-ka-wai and Ka-puka-i-haoa-ka-lā-o-lalo. This was an exceedingly sacred area. Guarded by Waka, it was encircled by rainbows, filled with the songs of *‘i‘iwi,* and *‘ō‘ō* birds, and surrounded by all manner of plants. On the lands around the spring were grown the prostrate sugar cane called *Mikioi-o-lehua*, the bananas called *Mānai-‘ula-i-ka-wao*, the taro called *Pāpākole-koa‘e-o-lele-kea*, and the *‘awa* called *Waimaka-a-ka-manu o Puna*.

Ka-Miki took a leaf of the *pāpākolekoa‘e* taro, and folded it into a cup (*‘a‘apu lā‘alo*) to hold the water…and returned to Pū‘ula *mā*. Ka-Miki presented the water to Pū‘ula and described the beauty of Paliuli to those assembled. Kahauale‘a had been unable to reach Paliuli and the spring of Keakaikali‘ulā, so instead, he brought the water of Wai-uli at ‘Ōla‘a. His deception was detected, because of the dark nature of the water, thus Ka-Miki won this part of the *kūkini* contest… [January 13, 1916]

Ua-kuahine (Elder sister rain – a famous mist rain of the ‘Ōla‘a forest).
Ua-kuahine was an exceedingly beautiful woman who lived in ‘Ōla‘a. One day while traveling on the *ala loa* through the upland forest, to visit the family of her husband in Ka‘ū, a strong storm arose. Uakuahine grasped onto a tree, and her husband held on to a different tree. While waiting out the storm, a traveler held onto the same tree as Uakuahine. He inquired where she was bound on her journey, and she told him Ka‘ū, to visit the family of her husband.

Once the storm passed, Uakuahine's husband killed her in a fit of jealousy and buried her under a *kukui* tree there. Where she was killed, a grove of *kukui* and *‘ōhi‘a* trees grew, and to this day, the forest grove is called *Ka ulu kukui o Ua-kuahine*. As her skin darkened in her grave, the water in the neighboring spring also darkened, and so came to be called Wai-uli (Dark water). Uakuahine herself, was transformed into the mist which clings to the trees in the forest of ‘Ōla‘a, and the thick mist for which the region is famed, is mentioned in *mele* and sayings like —

> *‘Āina holo kia ahi manu ala i ka pō i ka nahele...*
>
> Land where the birds dart to and fro in the darkened forest...

Now during the contest between Ka-Miki and Kahauale‘a, Kahauale‘a was unable to get water from the spring Keakaikali‘ulā at Paliuli, so instead, he brought the water of Waiuli. His ruse was detected, because of the dark nature of the water… [February 3, 1916]

…Following those contests, Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole befriended Keahialaka, and agreed that he could become their traveling companion. Ka-Miki returned to Kaniahiku and released Kapu‘euhi who was near death. Kapu‘euhi then returned to his compound and with Pōhakuloa, he prepared food for Ka-Miki, Maka-‘iole and Keahialaka. When Ka-Miki, Maka-‘iole and Keahialaka departed from the compound of Kapu‘euhi, they descended the *ala loa* towards Hilo to continue their journey.

> The travelers arrived at a large compound and community, where they saw a man coming towards them with a club. This man was Kūkulu-a-hāneʻe-a-hina-pū [Kūkulu]. Kūkulu was a guardian of the chiefess and lands called Panaʻewa-nui-moku-lehua [Great Panaʻewa of the *lehua* forest]. Panaʻewa was a sacred chiefess of Hilo, the sister of the chiefs Waiākea and Piʻihonua.
>
> The chiefess' compound and surrounding community were forbidden to strangers, and Kūkulu regularly killed unaware travelers [thus the name "Pana-ʻewa" (Unjust place)]. Kūkulu challenged Ka-Miki *mā* but he was quickly defeated, and Ka-Miki left him there as an example to other *ʻōlohe* and to receive his due justice. Ka-Miki *mā* then continued their journey into Hilo, seeking out ʻŪpēloa, Kuʻu-aho-hilo-loa, and Haili-kula-manu, unjust competitors of Waiākea and vicinity… [February 17, 1916].

Bird Catching Techniques of the Ancient Hawaiians

In addition to the references cited earlier, there are a number of traditional accounts describing the arts of the class of people who caught native birds in order to collect their feathers. Several methods of bird catching were widely practiced by native Hawaiians. Except for the account of Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā, cited above, most of the early historical accounts recorded in the 1800s tell us that traditionally, the rarer birds, whose feathers were sought for ornamental purposes were not killed by the bird catchers. One account from the later period in the life of Kamehameha I, reported that as a result of growing commercial activities in the islands, traditional methods of harvesting resources and catching birds, were changing. Regarding these changes, and the response of Kamehameha I to careless collection of bird feathers, Kamakau (1961) wrote:

> Troubles that arose were not of his making, and those that had to do with disputes about religion came after his time. He ordered the sandalwood cutters to spare the young trees and, not to let the felled trees fall on the saplings. "Who are to have the young trees now that you are getting old?" he was asked and he answered, "When I die my chief and my children will inherit them." He gave similar orders to bird catchers, canoe makers, weavers of feather capes, wood carvers, and fishermen. These are the acts of a wise and Christian king who has regard for the future of his children, but the old rulers of Hawaii did the same. [Kamakau, 1961:209-210]

While researching various ethnographic records of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (BPBM), the author reviewed Hawaiian language papers (handwritten and typed) collected by island historian, Theodore Kelsey. Kelsey was born in Hilo in the late 1800s, and spent his entire life speaking with elderly Hawaiian people, collecting their stories, and translating their writings. Among his papers curated at the Bishop Museum (BPBM Archives–SC Kelsey; Box 1.5), are notes on various aspects of Hawaiian culture including bird catching. Kelsey's informant, was the elder Reverend Nālimu, who shared his account of bird catching, both as a means of providing feathers used for making Hawaiian emblems of royalty, and with other birds, as a food source. The account specifically references localities in the uplands of the Hilo District and ʻŌlaʻa, and is a first-hand description of traditional and customary practices which had broad application in the mountain regions.

The following Hawaiian texts are presented verbatim as recorded by Kelsey in c. 1921 (including his use of diacritical marks). The English translation of the Hawaiian narratives was prepared by the author of this study, and reflects the basic tenor of the Hawaiian narratives. It should be noted here, that in the Hawaiian language, occurrences of certain words naturally imply a specific action or statement, which is reflected in the translation:

> ***"AHELE MANU"***
> ***by H.B. Nalimu***
> *Poʻe kia manu o Laa, oia ka poʻe ahele manu, kekahi me ka laau a kekahi me ka lehua. O ka mea ahele manu ma ka lehua malaila ka puka e hanai kokoke i ka lehua, he puka paa ke-ia. Kekahi piko o ke kaula ma ka la-la o ka ʻohiʻa e paa ai. Elima, eono paha*

anana ka lo-ihi o ke aho mai ka puka mai a hiki i ka lima o ke kanaka e paa nei i ka piko o ke aho. A o ka puka aia ma kahi kokoke i ka lehua e kiko aku ai ka manu i ka lehua. I ka wa e lele mai ai ka manu lele no a ku maluna o ke-ia puka e kiko aku i ka lehua. A ia manawa e huki ai ke kanaka i ka piko o ke kaula a paa ka wawae o ka manu. Pii ke kanaka iluna a lawe i ka manu a hana hou aku i kela puka malaila. O ka akakane a me ka ʻiiwi, a me ka ʻo-oʻ iluna o ka pua lehua. Ahele me ke aho olonaʻ makalii. Maluna o ka maiʻa pala e ahele iʻ ai ka manu o-u'.

***"KĀWILI KĒPAU**."*
O ke kepau oia ke kohu o ka ʻulu. E ʻoki-oki ai i ka ʻulu a kahe mai ke kohu keʻokeʻo, a i ka wa e maloo ai ua kohu ʻla i ke ahiahi alaila ua paa aʻe ua kohu la.

Hele oe e ho-ulu-ulu ke-ia kohu a pau. Ho-ulu-ulu a nui, alaila lilo aʻeʻla uaʻ kohu nei i kepau. Alaila hele oe e ʻohi i hookahi kukui maka a hemo kona iwi ʻa ʻo kona ʻiʻo malama 'oe kelaʻ. Hele hou oe i ka' pa-ihi ku-kepau (kind of clover) he pa-ihi ʻele-ele ia, a hoohui me ke kukui maka, alaila nau a wali ke kukui maka me ka pa-ihi. Hookomo iloko o ke kapa wauke (he mea uaua ia), alaila ʻuwiʻ i ka wai o ke kukui a me ka pa-ihi iloko o ka ʻopihi, oia ka "ipuhao" e kupa ʻai iluna o ke kapuahi. I ka wa e hoomaka ai e paila alaila ʻoki-oki i ke kepau a liilii a hookomo iloko o ke-ia wai kukui me ka pa-ihi i paila ia. Kii elua ni-au ai ʻole ia, mau laau liilii paha e koali ai iloko o ke-ia wai paila.

Pela e hanai a pau kelaʻ wai a moʻa kelaʻ kepau. Hookomo iloko o ke poho ʻopihi a i ʻole he la-iʻ a wahi i ka la-iʻ. Kāwili ʻiuka a'e nei o Mokau-lele. Neenee ke pulu ʻohiʻa o ia wahi ilalo o ka pahoehoe.

Ilalo no oe e ku ai o ka pahoehoe a hana oe i ke kepau iluna o ka pua lehua. Ina ekolu, ehaʻ pua lehua au i kāwili ai i ke kēpau alaila i ka wa e pili ai kekahi pua lehua i ka manu alaila alualu a loaa. Pee hou oe iloko o ka pulu ʻohiʻa (kāhi o ka lau ʻohiʻa e luhe ana ilalo, oia ka pulu ʻohiʻa) a pili hou kekahi manu. Opaʻ ke poo o ka manu a make. Hookomo iloko o kekahi eke. Hola ekolu paha alaila hoʻi, nui ka manu, i hookahi kaau, iwakalua, kanakolu paha. A kela manu makalii; ua momona——kuhikuhi kona iʻo, momona. Oia ke kāwili kēpau.

***"LAAU KIA MANU**."*
Ekolu, ehaʻ paha anana ka lo-ihi o ka laau. Kau ia ka pua lehua iluna o ia laau nei mai kekahi ʻao-ao o ka laau a hiki i kekahi poo o ka laau. Hana elua kanaka, kekahi ma kekahi laau a kekahi ma kekahi. Kepau maluna o ka laau a he mau pua lehua mawaena o ke-ia mau kēpau——he laau kia manu ia |_____|. Olaa ka aina kia manu a me Piihonua. Nui ka manu o-oʻ ma Puu O-oʻ. Malaila ka poʻe kia manu e hele ai a loaa na lei hulu no na lii. O Pana-ʻewa kekahi wahi kia manu.

Huki ka laau kia manu iluna mawaena o na ʻohiʻa elua. Hana me ka ʻupena kekahi. Huki ia iluna ka ʻupena, hookahi laau maluna, hookahi laau malalo. He ʻupena ʻolonaʻ maka hakahaka, a he kaula ʻolonaʻ ma na poo. ʻElima, ehaʻ, ekolu paha anana kela' ʻupena palupalu. Lele no ka manu, paa ka wawae, paa ka pekekeu. Inaʻ hookahi, elua manu, waiho no pela', oia na manu e kahea ana i na manu e aʻe. Nui ka manu, hookuu ilalo ka ʻupena a huki hou iluna. He ulu ʻohiʻa ma kekahi ʻao-ao a me kekahi ʻao-ao. Oia ka hana ana o ka poʻe lawaiʻa manu. Hoʻi i ka hale e wehe ai ka hulu o ka manu ʻo-oʻ. Piha ke poʻi i ka hulu a haku lei. Malalo o ka po-ae-ae o ka o-oʻ oia ka hulu a-aʻ, a maluna o ka piapia oia me pue.

Bird Snaring (or Trapping)
Bird catchers (*kia manu*) of ʻŌlaʻa were people who snared (*ʻāhele*) birds. Some with branches and others with *lehua* blossoms. The individual who snared birds among the *lehua* made a snare (lasso) close to the *lehua* flower, the snare was secured there.

One end of the line was securely fastened on the branch of the *ʻōhiʻa*. The cord of perhaps five or six fathoms long, extended from the lasso (on the branch) to the man's hand where the end of the line was held tightly. The snare was placed close to a *lehua* blossom, where the bird would step (*kīkoʻo*) to the *lehua*. At that time, the man would then pull the end of the cordage and secure the feet of the bird. The man then climbed the tree, took the bird, and he would make the snare there again. The *ʻakakane* (*ʻapapane*), the *ʻiʻiwi*, and the *ʻōʻō* were caught up in the *lehua*, snared with fine *olonā* cordage. The *ʻōʻū* bird was snared while it was on the ripe banana fruit.

Preparing Bird Lime to Kāwili, or Ensnare Birds.
The bird lime (*kēpau*) is made from the sap of the breadfruit. Cut the breadfruit bark and the white sap flows, and when the sap is dry, say in the evening, the sap is hardened. You go and gather the sap. When enough has been gathered, the sap can be made into bird lime. Then you go and gather some raw *kukui*, removing the shell, you keep its meat. You then go and get the "clover" for making bird lime (*ʻihi-ku-kapu*, the *Nasturtium sarmentosum*), it is a black *pāʻihi*, and you mix it with the raw *kukui*. Then you chew it, and the *kukui* and *pāʻihi* become slimy. This is put into a *wauke* bark cloth (it is a tough piece), then the juice of the *kukui* and *pāʻihi* are squeezed into the *ʻōpihi* (shell), it is the "pot" for cooking the broth over the fire. When it starts to boil, the (*ʻulu*) gum is cut into small pieces and put in the juice of the *kukui* and *pāʻihi* so it can boil. Then get two coconut mid-ribs or perhaps little sticks to stir this boiling juice. This is how it is done until the juice is cooked and becomes the birdlime. It is then placed into the empty *ʻōpihi* or a *ti* leaf, wrapped up in *ti* leaves. Kāwili is in the uplands adjoining Mokaulele. Then go to where there is low branching *ʻōhiʻa* (*pulu ʻōhiʻa*), where the *pāhoehoe* is below.

You are below on the *pāhoehoe*, and you apply the bird lime above around the *lehua* flowers. Now you *kāwili* (twist, i.e. apply) this bird lime in among three or four *lehua* flowers, then when a bird is stuck by one of the *lehua* that blossoms, you free it and it is caught. You then hide again among the low *ʻōhiʻa* branches (a place where the *ʻōhiʻa* tops droop down, that is the *pulu ʻōhiʻa*), and catch another bird. You squeeze the birds head and it is killed. It is placed into a bag. Returning (home) perhaps around three ʻo clock, there are many birds, perhaps forty, twenty, or thirty. Those small birds; when fat——the meat is tasty and sweet. That's how one prepares *kawili kēpau*, or bird lime to ensnare birds.

Snaring Birds on Branches.
The (decoy) branch is perhaps three or four fathoms long. *Lehua* blossoms are placed on this branch, from one side of the branch up to the tip of the branch. Two men do this job, one at one (end of the) branch and one at the other. Bird lime is placed on top of the branch along with many *lehua* blossoms in between this bird lime——this is a bird catchers (*kia manu*) branch [drawn] |_____|. ʻŌlaʻa and Piʻihonua are lands of bird catchers. The are many *ʻōʻō* birds at Puʻu ʻŌʻō. It is there that the bird catchers go to get the feathers for adornments (*lei*) of the chiefs. Panaʻewa is also a place of the bird catchers.

The bird catchers (decoy) branch is pulled in between the *ʻōhiʻa lehua* trees. One (person) uses the net. The net is pulled up, one branch is above, one branch is below. It is an open (wide) meshed *olonā* net (*ʻupena olonā maka hakahaka*), and *olonā* cordage at the tip. It is a soft (pliable) net perhaps five, four, or three fathoms long. As the birds fly their feet are caught, or their wings caught. Now if there are one or two birds, they are left, these are the birds that call out to the other birds. When there are many birds the net is let down (the birds taken), then the net is pulled up again. *ʻŌhiʻa* growth is all around. So this is the work of the "bird-fishers," or *lawaiʻa manu*. They return to the house and then remove the feathers of the *manu ʻōʻō*. When the container

> is filled with feathers, a *lei* is made. Below the wing-pit is where the male *ʻōʻō* bird feathers are, and above on the back by the tail, are the pale yellow feathers. [Nalimu in Kelsey; Bishop Museum , Archives–SC Kelsey; Box 1.5; Maly, translator]

One additional tradition collected by Kelsey in 1921, references named locations in the uplands of Waiākea. Kelsey's aged informant, Reverend Henry B. Nalimu, who was born in Hilo in 1835, shared with him his recollections of ʻĪ-hālau (the long house of the chief ʻĪ):

> I, a relative of Rev. Nalimu's, constructed the ditch of I-auwai…
>
> I-halau, the great long house of I, was *mauka* of Waiakea, near Pooholua and *mauka* of that place. Rev. Nalimu has only heard of the place. He thinks that it is in the forest. When the occupants of I-halau finished a meal they slammed the covers down onto their calabashes in unison so that the report could be heard at I-koʻa, the fishing-grounds of I where he fished for *ahi*. The location of this *koʻa* was obtained by bringing into line the coconuts of Papaʻi and the Cape of Anapuka (ka lae o Anapuka) on the Puna side, and on the Hilo side, the coconuts of Kau Maui (near Keaukaha), and the cape of Kiha… [Kelsey notes, 1921; in collection of June Gutmanis]

THE MAUNA LOA MOUNTAIN LANDS OF THE ʻŌLAʻA, WAIĀKEA AND KEAUHOU VICINITY DESCRIBED BY VISITORS OF THE HISTORICAL PERIOD (1794-1875)

Because the lands of the upper ʻŌlaʻa and Waiākea region were remote, it appears that access was most frequently made by specialists in the collection of bird feathers, the makers of canoes, and collectors of other unique items for which the region may have been known. Except for the detailed narratives of the tradition of Pikoi-a-ka-ʻalalā, most other traditions, and early historical accounts by native Hawaiians, seem to place the routes of travel beyond the limits of the lands within the Puʻu Makaʻala NAR. The main routes being out of Hilo through ʻŌlaʻa, *mauka*, near its boundary with Keaʻau, or *mauka* between Kīlauea, across Keauhou (of Kapāpala in Kaʻū), within view of the boundary between ʻŌlaʻa (Puʻu Kūlani), and out across the Waiākea and Humuʻula lands of the Hilo District. Thus, there appears to be little specific reference in the historical record to the immediate study area lands.

From the journals, letters, and articles of historic visitors traveling the routes mentioned above, we are given a glimpse into the nature of the landscape, and a record of changes thereon, with the passing of time. As outlying lands were changed—resulting from the impacts of introduced grazing animals, and in some instances from lava flows of Mauna Loa—we develop a sense of why the Puʻu Makaʻala NAR is important to the future well-being of the Hawaiian natural environment. The NAR is a remnant of the unique cultural and natural landscape as described in the traditional accounts.

The narratives below, date from 1794 to 1875, and are the first-hand records of observations and travel across the mountain lands and in the forest adjoining the Puʻu Makaʻala NAR.

First Foreigner Ascends Mauna Loa in 1794

In 1793-1794, botanist, Archibald Menzies visited Hawaiʻi with Captain Vancouver, during which time Menzies and crew members walked inland with native guides to botanize and take readings of the topography. While ascending Mauna Loa, Menzies observed that the Hawaiians kept "*Morai*" (*heiau* – ceremonial sites) along the trails in the forests and up the mountain, at which they regularly stopped in prayer and to make offerings (Menzies 1920:85). The following excerpts from Menzies notes describe this practice:

> ***Forest Shrines***
> "So bigoted are these people to their religion that here and there, on the sides of the path, they have little Morais, or spots consecrated to their Deity, which none of them ever pass without leaving something—let it be ever so trifling—to obtain his good will, and they were highly delighted, indeed, when we followed their example in throwing a nail or a few beads, or a piece of tapa, before their Deity, which the women were not allowed to pass without uncovering their breasts and shoulders." [Menzies 1920:85]

From Kapāpala, Menzies and party traveled *mauka* of Kīlauea, and from there, they cut across the mountain lands, to begin their ascent of Mauna Loa. Menzies narratives provide readers with the first written account of the forest lands and nature of Mauna Loa:

> ***Kapapala.***
> Though we had much reason to be satisfied every step we went, with the kind attentions and unbounded hospitality of the natives, yet we could not help being now a little out of temper with them at the great distance they were taking us as it were round the foot of the mountain, till in the afternoon we reached a fine plantation called Kapapala, belonging to the king, from which they told us we were to as- [page 187] cend the mountain. As the chief had here to provide his last supplies of provisions for our journey up, we were obliged to stop for the night to allow him some time for that purpose…

…We were now within a few miles of the volcano, of which there seemed to be this day a considerable eruption, and as the wind blew from that direction, the smoke, dust and ashes arising from it proved very troublesome to our eyes in travelling with our faces towards it.

February 13th. Before we set out on the morning of the 13th, I observed the barometer at eight, when the mercury stood at 28 in. 20 pts., which made our height at this place 1800 feet above the level of the sea. The thermometer was at the same time 67 degs.

After breakfast, everything being got ready, and the party arranged, we continued our march through the plantation for two or three miles further, and then began our ascent up the south-east side of Mauna Loa in an easy slanting direction, passing through groves of trees and clear spots alternately by a narrow rugged path without meeting any more cultivated ground after we quitted the plantation of Kapapala, or any houses till towards sunset, when we came to two or three old huts where our guides told us we must encamp for the night. The chief no longer depended on his own knowledge of the path, but brought men with him from the last plantation to conduct the whole party up the mountain, which now lay between us and Kealakekua. We had the volcano to our right most part of this day and in the forenoon the smoke and ashes arising from it made [page 188] the air very thick, which at times proved very tormenting to our eyes.

At sunset the thermometer was at 54 degs., and the barometer stood at 26 in. 50 pts., which made our height from the sea 3,510 feet.

February 14th. At sunrise next morning the thermometer was so low as 41 degs… …the air was at this time so chilly that the natives complained so much of the cold that we did not stir from the place of our encampment till after breakfast, when we again set forward up the mountain in a reversed oblique direction to what we came the day before, but in so winding and circuitous a manner and through such pathless and rugged tracts, avoiding the clumps of forest here and there, that, had we not good guides with us, we should have met with insurmountable difficulties.

We had sight now and then of the lower edge of the snow which did not appear to be far above us… Towards evening, we reached the upper verge of the forest nearly over Kapapala, where we encamped for the conveniency of having wood at hand to burn and erect our huts with… Near our encampment [page 190] I found a large beautiful species of *Vicia*[128] clambering up amongst the thickets in full bloom.

Reaches the Upper Edge of Forest.

Being now at the upper edge of the forest I observed the barometer at six in the evening, when it stood at 23 in. 73 pts., which is equal to 6,500 ft. in altitude. This may be considered the height at which the wood ceases to grow upon the sides of this immense mountain. The thermometer observed at the same time was at 41 degs., and as we had heated ourselves a good deal in this day's march up the mountain, we felt the air after sunset remarkably chilly and cold, which induced us to keep large fires burning near our huts the whole night. Notwithstanding this precaution, many of the natives were so restless with the cold and continued coughing that they enjoyed very little repose, and not indeed without cause, for when we got up next morning, the thermometer was at 28 degs, and the grass which grew about our huts was so stiff and whitened with hoar frost, and the earth that was in anywise moist or swampy was encrusted with icy concretions about our encampment. The frost must therefore have

[128] *Vicia Menziesii*, Sprengel, or V. *grandiflora* Smith. This species of legume has not been found by modern collectors.

been keen during the night time, and from this circumstance I think we may consider the upper edge of the wood as the lower line of congelation upon this mountain. Meeting with it so low down as we here did and that, too, on a tropical mountain so closely surrounded by the mild temperature of sea air, will no doubt stagger the belief of those who have been led to consider the lower line of congelation within the tropics; and having a much greater altitude even in continental regions which are always allowed to be colder than islands of moderate size. [page 191]

Natives Unwilling to Proceed.
February 15th. The natives, who were all barefooted, could not stir out of their huts in the morning until after breakfast, when the cheering influence of the sun dispersed the frost, but they greatly dreaded its consequences further up the mountain where they said that the cold was so intense that it would certainly kill us and them, too, and they described its effects by contracting and shivering themselves and cautioning us very strongly against going higher up or exposing ourselves or them to such danger. Even the old chief Luhea was so strongly prepossessed of this opinion that he now entreated us in the most earnest manner to relinquish the idea of going higher, for that he and several others were already nearly overcome with the fatigue of the journey and that the cold of the mountain would kill them… [Menzies, 1920:192]

On February 16th, 1794, Menzies and party arrived at the summit of Mauna Loa, the first foreigners to do so. It was not until January 1834, that another foreigner would again reach the summit of Mauna Loa.

Waiākea Described in 1823
Following the death of Kamehameha I in 1819, the Hawaiian religious and political systems began undergoing radical changes. Just moments after his death, Ka‘ahumanu proclaimed herself “*Kuhina nui*” (Prime Minister), and approximately six months later the ancient *kapu* system was overthrown in chiefly centers. Less than a year after Kamehameha’s death, Protestant missionaries arrived from America. In 1823, British missionary William Ellis and members of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) toured the island of Hawai‘i seeking out communities in which to further the work of the growing Calvinist mission.

During the visit, Ellis and his companions traveled around the island and upon portions of the mountain lands. While Ellis and his party did not travel the *mauka* route between Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa to Kīlauea, Ellis did write about the mountain lands as described by others he’d spoken with:

Few Inland Settlements
There are a few inland settlements on the east and north-west parts of the island, but, in general, the interior is an uninhabited wilderness.

The heart of Hawaii, forming a vast central valley between Mouna Roa, Mouna Kea, and Mouna Huararai, is almost unknown, no road leads across it from the east to the western shore, but it is reported, by the natives who have entered it, to be "bristled with forests of *ohia*," or to exhibit vast tracts of sterile and indurated lava.

The circumstance of large flocks of wild geese being frequently seen in the mountains, would lead to the supposition that there must be large ponds or lakes to which they resort; but if any exist, they have hitherto remained undiscovered… [Ellis, 1963:4]

Travel Across the ‘Ōla‘a-Humu‘ula Uplands in 1830
In 1830, Reverend Hiram Bingham and family visited Waimea, and in September they were joined by members of the royal household for a visit to Mauna Kea. During the same visit, a trip was made to

Kīlauea, and Binghams' journal includes as description of the journey over land to the plateau lands between Mauna Loa and Mauna Kea, on their way back to Waimea.

> …After spending about thirty hours at Pele's chief seat, we set off, towards evening, on the 21st, to cross the wilderness to Waimea, which required the time of a little more than two days and two nights. Walking till late, we laid ourselves down where we could find a place. The next day we continued our journey northwardly, towards Mauna Kea, lodging out in the wilderness, in the same manner, at night, the majestic mountain being half a day's walk to the north of us.
>
> Rose at four o'clock from our mountain couch, — a day's journey from any human habitation; saw lightning at a great distance at sea – our elevation being 4000 or 5000 feet; packed our sleeping *kapa*; offered our morning sacrifice in these solitudes of the centre of Hawaii, and as the day dawned, set forward on our journey. We passed over several large tracts of lava, of different kinds, some smooth, vitreous, and shining, some twisted and coiled like huge ropes, and some consisting of sharp, irregular, loose, rugged volcanic masses, of every form and size, from an [page 393] ounce in weight, to several tons, thrown, I could not conceive how, into a chaos or field of the roughest surface, presenting a forbidding area, from one to forty square miles in extent, and though not precipitous, yet so horrid as to forbid a path, and defy the approach of horses and cattle. In the crevices of the more solid lava we found the *ohelo*, somewhat resembling the whortleberry, nourished by frequent showers and dew. At ten o'clock, we halted for breakfast; raised a smoke, as a signal for the horse keeper, at the watering-place, at the south base of Mauna Kea, to approach, and moved on, till twelve o'clock, when I was very glad to see and mount the horse sent over from Waimea to meet me… [Bingham, 1969:394]

The Mauna Loa Mountain Lands Described by David Douglas (1834)

Scottish Naturalist, David Douglas toured the interior lands on Hawai'i in 1834, and also traveled to the summits of Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa. After a visit and observations at Kīlauea, Douglas traveled to Kapāpala, and made preparations for the ascent of Mauna Loa. The route traveled took Douglas *mauka* of the lands that now make up the Pu'u Maka'ala NAR, and on to the summit of Mauna Loa. Excerpts from Douglas' narratives, published in the Hawaiian Spectator in 1839, provide readers with a description of the lands traveled through, the nature and make up of the forest; and the presence of native dwellings for bird catchers:

> …Tuesday, January the 28th. I hired two guides the elder of whom, a short stout man, was particularly recommended to me by the chief for his knowledge of the mountain. By profession he is a bird-catcher, going in quest of that particular kind of bird which furnishes the feathers of which the ancient cloaks, used by the natives of these islands, are made. The other guide was a young man. Three volunteers offered to accompany me; one a very stout fat dame, apparently about thirty, another not much more than half that age, a really well looking girl, tall and athletic: but to the first, the bird-catcher gave such an awful account of the perils to be under-gone, that both the females finally declined the attempt, and only the third person, a young man went with me. My original party often, besides Honori and the two guides, set out at light, with as usual, a terrible array of taro, calabashes full of *poi*, sweet potatoes, dry *poi* tied up in Ti-leaves, and goats flesh, each bearing a pole on his shoulder with a bundle at either end… [page 418] …Among my attendants was one singular looking personage, a stripling, who carried a small packet of instruments, and trotted away, arrayed in a Cutty-Sark of most "scanty longitude," the upper portion of which had once been of white, and the lower of red flannel. Honori brought up the rear with a small telescope slung over his shoulder, and an umbrella, which owing perhaps to his asthmatic complaint, he never fails to carry with him, both in fair and foul weather.

We returned for about a mile and a half along the road that led to the Great Volcano, and then struck off to the left in a small path that wound in a northerly direction up the green, grassy flank of Mauna Roa. I soon found that Honori's cough would not allow him to keep up with the rest of the party, so leaving one guide with him, and making the bird-catcher take the lead, I proceeded at a quick rate. This part of the island is very beautiful; the ground, though hilly, is covered with a tolerably thick soil, which supports a fine sward of Grass, Ferns, climbing plants, and, in some places, timber of considerable size. *Koa*, *Tutui*, and *Mamane* trees. Though fallen trees and brush-wood occasionally intercepted the path, still it was by no means so difficult as that by which I had ascended Mauna Kea. To avoid a woody point of steep ascent, we turned a little eastward, after having traveled about five miles and a half, and passed several deserted dwellings, apparently only intended as the temporary abodes of bird-catchers and sandal wood-cutters. Calabashes and Pumpkins, with Tobacco, were the only plants that I observed growing near them. At eleven, A.M., we came to a small pool of [page 419] fresh water, collected in the lava, the temperature of which was 55º; here my people halted for a few minutes to smoke. The barometer stood at 26 inch., the air 62º, and the dew point 58º. The wind was from the south, with a gentle fanning breeze and a clear sky. Hence the path turns north-west, for a mile and a half, becoming a little steeper, till it leads to a beautiful circular well, three feet deep, flowing in the lava, its banks fringed with strawberry vines, and shaded by an *Acacia*-tree grove. Here we again rested for half an hour. We might be said here to have ascended above the woody country; the ground became more steep and broken, with a thinner soil and trees of humbler growth, leading towards the south-east ridge of Mauna Roa, which, judging from a distance, appeared the part to which there is the easiest access. I would recommend to any Naturalists who may in future visit this mountain, to have their canteens filled at the well just mentioned, for my guide trusting to one which existed in a cave further up, and which he was unable to find, declined to provide himself with this indispensable article at the lower well, and we were consequently put to the greatest inconvenience.

Among the brushwood was a strong kind of Raspberry bush, destitute of leaves; the fruit, I am told, is white. At four P.M. we arrived at a place where the lava suddenly became very rugged, and the brush wood low, where we rested and chewed sugar-cane of which we carried a large supply, and where the guides were anxious to remain all night. As this was not very desirable, since we had no water, I proceeded for an hour longer, to what might be called the Line of Shrubs, and at two miles and a half further on encamped for the night. We collected some small stems of a heath-like plant, which with the dried stalks of the same species of *Compositoe* which I observed on Mauna Kea, afforded a tolerably good fire. The man who carried the provisions did not make his appearance—indeed it is very difficult except by literally driving them before you, to make the natives keep up with an active traveler… [Douglas, 1839:420]

The United States Exploring Expedition, 1840-1841

In 1841, members of the United States Exploring Expedition, under the command of Charles Wilkes, accompanied by a party of native Hawaiians and foreign residents (numbering nearly three hundred individuals) traveled to the summit of Mauna Loa. The party departed from Waiākea, traveled *mauka* through ʻŌlaʻa, and on to Kīlauea. Observations and exploration were undertaken at Kīlauea, and then the party traveled through Keauhou, *mauka*, along the forest above the ʻŌlaʻa Forest Reserves and Puʻu Makaʻala NAR, and on to Mauna Loa. The following narratives are excerpted from Wilkes' account of departure from Kīlauea, and journey to the Mauna Loa summit:

At dawn on the morning of the 18th, the signal called us to make preparations for our journey, and as all things had now been more systematically arranged, we anticipated less difficulty in our onward journey. The natives seemed to be all in good spirits, and

moved with alacrity… The water that I have mentioned as being found in the small pools, the product of condensation, was exhausted before we left the crater. This was in consequence of the natives having filled their calabashes; and we had particularly instructed our servants and the sailors to do the same. The former provided themselves; but the latter, sailor-like, preferred to take their chance of meeting with it on the road, rather than carry a load for their future supply. I discovered, after we started, that they were unprovided, but was informed that there was, within about two miles, an old canoe which would be found full of [page 130] water. On our arrival at it, we found that the natives, who had preceded us, after supplying themselves had emptied out the rest.

Our route was taken at first and for a few miles in a due west line, for the top of Mauna Loa, over the extensive plain surrounding the volcano; it then deviated to the southward, over an ancient lava-bed, very much broken, that appeared never to have been traversed before. We now became for the first time acquainted with clinkers. To describe these, it is merely necessary to say, they are like the scoria from a foundry, only instead of being the size of the fist, they are from one to ten feet square, and armed on all sides with sharp points; they are for the most part loose, and what makes them still more dangerous, is that a great deal of the vitreous lava is among them. Of the origin of these immense masses and their extent, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter; suffice it for the present to say, there never was more difficult or unpleasant ground to travel over.

Our guide Puhano of Puna, who we understood had accompanied Douglass and Lowenstern on their ascents, now took the lead, but it soon appeared that he knew little of the route. I therefore, in company with Mr. Brinsmade, took the lead, compass in hand; and after walking over the broken and torn-up ground, we turned again towards the hill-side, and began a rapid ascent through a belt of long grass, where the rock was covered with white clay, and seldom to be seen. This part appeared to have suffered much from drought; for in passing along we came to several narrow and dry water-courses, but met with no water.

At two o'clock we had nearly reached the upper limit of the woods, and as the clouds began to pass over, and obscure the path, we determined to halt and encamp. We made several fires along the route, in order to guide those behind, and as a mark for the stragglers; bushes were also broken off, and their tops laid in the direction we were going, by the natives; and I likewise had the trees blazed, as a further indication, well known to our men. Chronometer sights were taken here, and the altitude by barometer was five thousand and eighty-six feet.

During the day, the reason that had induced the natives to empty the water out from the canoe, became evident in their anxiety to sell us water. My friend the consul had hired an especial bearer for his calabash of water, determining that he would have a sufficient supply. By our watching and cautioning the old man who had it in charge, he became somewhat alarmed and unsteady, as I thought also from fatigue. When he had arrived within a short distance of the camp, he stumbled on a smooth place, fell, and broke the calabash into numerous pieces. Those who were coming up, seeing the accident, rushed to partake of its contents, but the fluid quickly disappeared in [page 131] the loose and absorbent lava. This was a dreadful blow to my friend's feelings, and produced much laughter among us, in which the consul himself at length joined; although I must confess I was somewhat of his opinion, that it had been done designedly, either to secure the sale of that belonging to others, or to get rid of the load, which had been a great annoyance and trouble to the bearer all day, and for which he had already been paid…

> We were now for a long time enveloped in mist, for we had reached the region of clouds. The thermometer at 6 P. M., stood at 54°; the dew-point at 44°. Instead of trade-winds from the northeast, we had a mountain breeze from the west, which caused the temperature to fall to 43°, and produced a feeling of great cold, being a fall of forty degrees since we left the coast… [page 132]
>
> At sunrise on the 19th, we had the temperature at 48°.
>
> As the ascent was now becoming laborious, we selected and left the things we had no immediate use for, to follow us by easy stages. We then took a diagonal direction through the remaining portion of the woods. By one o'clock we had lost all signs of trees, and were surrounded by low scraggy bushes: the change of vegetation became evident, not only in species, but in size; we also passed through extensive patches that had been destroyed by fire. Sandalwood was seen, not as a tree, but a low shrub.
>
> During the day we had passed extensive caves, in all of which I had search made for water. These often lead a long distance under ground, and some of the men passed in at one end and out at another.
>
> Intending to stop on Sunday not far above these caves, calabash-tops were left in one or two where water was found to be dropping, in hopes by this means to procure a small supply; but on returning the next day, it was found that very little had accumulated. These caves or tunnels had apparently been caused by a flow of lava down the side of the mountain, which on cooling had left the upper part arched or vaulted, the fluid running off at its lower extremity or opening and spreading itself over the surface. The opening into them was formed by the roof having fallen in, and partly blocked up the tunnel. At no great distance from the opening, the floor on each side was smooth and closely resembled the flow of the lava on the surface. These openings were usually known by the quantity of raspberry and other bushes around them; and they reminded me of the caverns in limestone districts… [Wilkes, 1970:133]

The landscape of the mountain lands was again described by Wilkes, when his party descended from Mauna Loa, returning to Kilauea:

> …. After a rest of two hours, and obtaining new shoes, we went on and reached the Sunday Station at five o'clock, scarcely able to drag one foot after the other. Here we were soon enveloped in mist, and found the soft and delightful temperature of spring. I cannot venture to describe the effect this produced on us after our three weeks' sojourn on the cold, bleak, and barren summit. I felt for the first time in my life fairly broken down, and almost past the soothing effects of the *loomi-loomi*, which the natives at once offered as a relief to me: it may be called a lesser shampooing, and consists, as practiced in the Sandwich Islands, of a gentle kneading of the limbs, which has a great tendency to restore the circulation, and relax the muscles and joints. The natives use it for rheumatism, headache, and all kinds of pains. It requires some skill to do it well, and there is the greatest difference in the performance between persons who are practiced in it and those who are not. The chiefs generally have two persons employed at the same time. We soon had a good fire made before our Hawaiian hut; its warmth, together with an excellent supper, made us comfortable, and we were soon asleep on the dried grass.
>
> The next morning, when I awoke, all nature seemed to be alive: the [page 166] songs of the birds, the cheerful voices of the natives, were delightful; the green foliage gave everything an air of spring. We were so stiff as scarcely to be able to move, which was all that now remained to remind us of the scenes we had left, and the fatigues we had undergone. When we again set off, it was amusing to see the whole party moving

along with their stiff and aching limbs, trying to appear but little fatigued. At twelve o'clock we reached the station where he had abandoned our chairs, and I never was more relieved than when I reached mine, for I was quite unable to walk any further. Here, also, we were met by the natives with fruit; indeed, every step we took seemed to be restoring us to the comforts of life. Late in the afternoon of the 14th we reached the crater of Kilauea, after an absence of twenty-eight days, eight of which had been consumed in travelling, six in going up and two in returning from the summit… [Wilkes, 1970:167]

Travel to Kīlauea and the Mountain Lands (1875)

In 1875, Henry M. Whitney, editor of the Hawaiian Gazette, published a "Hawaiian Guide Book." The publication was produced as one of the early promotional guides to encourage visitation to the Hawaiian Islands, and included descriptions of the islands, harbors, agriculture, plantations, scenery, volcanoes, climate, population, commerce, and places to stay while visiting. His publication of 1875 provides readers with interesting commentary on travel via the old roadways from Hilo, via ʻŌlaʻa Village and the half-way house (presumably Hawelu's half-way house), to Kīlauea.

To The Volcano Kilauea [1875]

Two routes may be taken to the crater Kilauea, on the slope of Mauna Loa, one by Puna, the other by Olaa. It will be advisable to combine both, by going one way and returning the other. Time being an object, the trip to and from the crater via Olaa can be accomplished in three days, which will give one day and two nights at the volcano house… [Whitney 1875:78]

…The short route to Kilauea Crater, leads out of Hilo [page 80] village by Volcano street, adorned with white cottages… The road soon becomes densely fenced with the *ohia* bushes, then crosses the end of the famous Waiakea fish ponds and only fairly starts in the wilderness after passing Gov. Lyman's cattle ranch in Waiakea. It is no macadamized thoroughfare and will try the patience of most travelers. Ten miles bring the traveler into the magnificent woods…

Fifteen miles from Hilo Olaa is reached, the half-way stopping place. The intermediate territory is covered with *ti* plants and ferns, while the road consists mostly of *pahoehoe* lava, covered with bunch grass and occasional bushes and trees.

"The Half-way House" at Olaa is merely a cluster of grass houses, a passable rest for visitors… Although this point is 1138 feet above the sea level, and ten miles from Keaau, (the nearest point on the sea shore) the roar of the sea may be distinctly heard during a heavy surf. Leaving Olaa, the route is over *pahoehoe* in all its varieties, thickly covered with wild grass, straggling ferns, creeping vines, and that vegetation which in tropical lands seeks only water to become impenetrable. Fires have swept over parts of the adjoining land and the blackened rocks with their scant supplies of soil, demonstrate how little alluvial earth nature requires to run wild, when it has plenty of light, warmth and moisture. [page 81]

Here the ascent hitherto very gradual becomes more rapid, reaches into a second rim of *Koa* woods, becomes more level and after a short gallop, the traveler finds himself, (eight hours from Hilo,) on the brink of the famous crater, and, four thousand feet above the level of the sea, dismounts from his tired animal and enters the Volcano House… [Whitney 1875:82]

Whitney's narratives continue, describing travel around and through Kīlauea, and he then references the ascent of Mauna Loa. The route being across Keauhou, *mauka* of the lands that make up the ʻŌlaʻa Forest Reserve and Puʻu Makaʻala NAR. (Whitney 1875:93-95).